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## Mordechai: We need resources to counter Iran threat

**News agencies**  
Iran's ability to produce long range missiles and unconventional weapons poses a definite threat to the region, including Israel, Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai said yesterday.  
Speaking to reporters before his meeting with Romanian Defense Minister Viktor Babiyuk, he added: "We must build answers for now and for the future, but it must be the right response. For this the defense establishment needs crucial resources, so that it can be ready for any threat, certainly for such a dangerous threat from Iran."  
He said that Israel was making diplomatic efforts via the US and Russia to stop the flow of know-how and material to Iran, but that the Iranian program was proceeding nonetheless.  
Chief of General Staff Lt-Gen. Shaul Mofaz expressed similar concerns about Iran's missile program.  
Iran said yesterday that the Shihab-3 missile it tested last month was guided by an Iranian-made system that gives it great accuracy. The Shihab-3 missile is 16 meters long and can travel at a speed of 7,000 kilometers per hour, said Gen. Mohammed Bagher Kalibaf, head of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps' air wing.  
"It is a ballistic missile and can carry a one-ton warhead at a cruising altitude of 250 kilometers above sea level," Kalibaf said.  
This was the first time Iran has given any details about the Shihab-3, since confirming on July 25 that the missile has a range of 1,300 kilometers.  
"The final test of every weapon is in a real war situation but, given its warhead and size, the Shihab-3 is a very accurate weapon," Kalibaf said, adding that its guidance system was produced by Iranian engineers.  
Iranian officials have said the missile is for defense.  
On Saturday, Iranian President Mohammed Khatami said his country was determined to continue to strengthen its armed forces, regardless of international concerns.  
"A strong Iran is a backing for the security of friends, neighbors and all the regional countries," Khatami said during a Defense Ministry exhibition in Teheran.  
He condemned "the Zionist regime, which is equipped with atomic, biological and chemical weapons," as "the principal threat to the nations of the region."  
Jay Bushinsky adds:  
Responding to Khatami's remarks, the Foreign Ministry said yesterday it does not perceive Iran as an enemy and does not threaten the Iranian regime.  
A statement contended that "if Iran stops assisting Hizbullah [in Lebanon] and ends its opposition to the Middle East peace process, this would be regarded as a positive development." It added the entire world hopes that Iran will behave responsibly and in an unprovocative manner, "therefore, President Khatami's remarks are regrettable and disappointing."



**Teaching women self-defense**  
Wielding a plastic knife, Tel Aviv Mayor Ronni Milo plays the role of an attacker in a workshop yesterday, sponsored by the municipality, to teach women how to respond to a potential rapist. The workshops, which will be held at several local community centers, are being offered in response to a series of unsolved rapes in the city. Story, Page 4. (Yael Somekh/Israel Sun)

## In reported effort to rescue talks Israel to free 100 prisoners

**By STEVE RODAN and MOHAMMED NAJIB**  
In an apparent effort to overcome the ongoing deadlock in the peace talks, the government has agreed in principle to free 100 security prisoners, Israel Radio reported last night.  
No timetable has been set for the deal and it was unclear what conditions, if any, Israel had set.  
The news of a prisoner release came as Palestinian Authority officials expressed reluctance about entering talks with Israel today. They have threatened this could be the last negotiating session unless Israel agrees to the US-proposed 13% withdrawal from the West Bank.  
"The Israelis must bring something or things will become useless and the Americans will be told about this Israeli intransigence," said Nabil Abu Rudeineh, adviser to PA Chairman Yasser Arafat.  
"If the Israelis are not going to present something new on accepting the American proposals, then [today's] meeting may be the last direct meeting between the two sides," he told The Associated Press.  
**Palestinian reporters barred from casual contacts with Israelis, Page 2**  
PA chief negotiator Saeb Erekat, who is to meet with cabinet secretary Dan Naveh today, said Israel has not presented maps of a suggested IDF redeployment and refuses to see PA maps as well. The maps concern the 3 percent of the 13.1% of the withdrawal that Israel wants to deem as a nature reserve.  
"We want the Palestinians and Israelis to see the peace process as a fact on the ground and not through the media or official Israeli declarations," Erekat said.  
**See PRISONERS, Page 2**

## Congressmen say they won't impeach Clinton

**By JIM ABRAMS**  
WASHINGTON (AP) — A senior Republican urged US President Bill Clinton to reveal the extent of his alleged relationship with Monica Lewinsky, saying he thought Congress would forgive the president if his story turns out to be a matter of sexual misconduct.  
"If he comes forth and tells it and does it in the right way and there aren't a lot of other factors to cause the Congress to say, 'This man is unfit for the presidency and should be impeached,' then I think the president would have a reasonable chance of getting through this," Sen. Orrin Hatch said yesterday.  
"I don't know anybody at the top of the system who really wants to see the president hurt in this matter," said Hatch, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.  
A similar message was coming from Clinton's Democratic allies in the wake of revelations last week that there may be physical evidence of a relationship between the president and Lewinsky, including a stained dress she turned over to independent prosecutor Kenneth Starr.  
Clinton has denied, both in public statements and in testimony in the Paula Jones sexual harassment case against him, having had a sexual relationship with Lewinsky. He will be asked about this again on August 17, when he testifies for Starr.  
**See CLINTON, Page 2**


## Ramat Hovav burns

Firefighters had given up trying to extinguish the largest ever blaze at the Ramat Hovav national hazardous waste disposal site late last night. After battling the conflagration for some five hours since early evening, they decided to let the main flashpoint burn itself out.  
The fire broke out for still unexplained reasons among used lithium batteries stored under oil in drums. Flames burned high into the nighttime sky and could be seen from Beersheba, some 12 kilometers away, but no injuries were reported.  
Beersheba firefighters arrived to find the site abandoned by its workers, who fled from the fierce heat and multiple chemical explosions. Environment Ministry inspectors checked for possible poisonous fumes, after the blazing chemicals formed a huge, oily black cloud. Though they determined there was no danger from the fumes, police closed the Beersheba-Yeroham road for several hours, until the cloud had dispersed. (Tim)

## 2 women held for stabbing mates

The Jerusalem Magistrate's Court yesterday remanded a woman for two days on suspicion she stabbed her estranged husband as the two of them were on the way to his girlfriend's house.  
The two separated six months ago, after three-and-a-half years of marriage and three children, but continued to see one another frequently. The husband spent Shabbat with the wife and children in their apartment.  
On Saturday night, he asked her to come with him to his girlfriend's apartment. As they were going up the stairs, she allegedly pulled out a kitchen knife and stabbed him. He suffered moderate wounds and a Magen David Adom ambulance took him to Hadassah-University Hospital, Mt. Scopus.  
The wife's lawyer, Oded Cohen, said the husband had not been making the payments to her as required, and had misled her about the future of their relationship.  
She told the court she did not have the emotional resources to deal with her husband's betrayal.  
Meanwhile, a Kiryat Gat woman who had stabbed her drunk and violent husband 10 days ago when he tried to force her to have sex with him was charged yesterday in Beersheba District Court with attempted murder.  
On July 24, the couple had a fight when the husband, who was drunk, tried to force her to have sex. She refused and he hit her, threatening to kill her.  
The woman then allegedly took a kitchen knife and stabbed her husband six times in the back, puncturing his lungs and paralyzing his right leg with a wound to the spinal cord. He is being treated in Sheba Hospital at Tel Hashomer.  
Prosecutors, citing the severity of the crime, asked that she be remanded until the end of her trial. Judge Baruch Azoulai, however, delayed the hearing on the extended remand by 10 days so that the woman's attorney from the Public Defender's Office could have time to study the case. Until then, the woman will remain in custody. (Tim)

## GOLDEN BENEFITS ON ISRAEL'S 50th BIRTHDAY



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# NEWS

in brief

## Saudi Arabia's King Fahd admitted to hospital

King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, who is in his mid-70s, was admitted to the King Faisal Specialist Hospital in Riyadh yesterday to undergo medical tests, the official Saudi Press Agency reported.

Crown Prince Abdullah arrived later in Riyadh and met Fahd at the hospital, the agency said.

Fahd's health has been the source of much speculation since he suffered a stroke in November 1995 and, two months later, temporarily handed over power to Abdullah, his half-brother. The crown prince is known to be far less pro-American than Fahd and has been critical of Washington's support for Israel. He essentially remains in command as the stroke left Fahd with short-term memory loss and the inability to concentrate for any stretch of time.

## Prinatz Yanai to be questioned today

Prinatz Yanai is to be questioned today as part of the continuing investigation into alleged irregularities in the trial of convicted traitor Nahum Manbar, Channel 1 reported last night. Afterwards Manbar's lawyer, Amnon Zichroni, is expected to be questioned, the report said.

The probe will proceed only if something new is turned up in the sessions with Yanai or Zichroni, Channel 1 reported. As it stands now, the chances are slim that Tel Aviv District Court President Justice Amnon Strashnov would be called in for questioning, Channel 1 said. The relationship between Yanai, a member of Manbar's defense team, Strashnov, who presided over the former case, and the prime minister's spokesman, Shai Bazak, is being investigated.

## Sarid to meet Prince Hassan

Meretz leader Yossi Sarid is to meet Jordan's Crown Prince Hassan in Amman today for talks about the status of the peace process and the relations between Israel and Jordan. Sarid, who was invited by Prince Hassan last week, will be the first Israeli to meet him after King Hussein's illness was made public. The meeting, which will be held in the royal palace, was arranged by the Israeli Embassy in Jordan.

Sarid has been maintaining close ties with the royal family in Jordan and recently headed a Meretz delegation which met with King Hussein, who received it with warmth and friendliness. Sarid also has a special relationship with the crown prince; they once headed the joint humanitarian mission to Bosnia.

## Man leaps to his death from third floor

A 58-year-old man jumped from the third floor of a Tel Aviv building yesterday afternoon. It is unclear why the man committed suicide. He had lived alone in an apartment nearby.

## Poll: Russian olim more likely to consider suicide

Immigrants from the former Soviet Union are more than twice as likely to contemplate suicide as those who stay there, according to a poll conducted by the Talbiyah and She'ar Mithash mental-health centers. In a poll of 788 immigrants from the former Soviet Union between the ages of 18 and 80 and of 411 adults who still live there, researchers found that 15.1 percent of immigrants contemplate suicide, compared to 6.6 percent of those who do not immigrate.

Researchers found that 5.5 percent of the immigrants actually attempt suicide, compared to 0.5 percent of those who stay there.

## Government training program for Arabs grows

The Arab states' participation in the Foreign Ministry's scientific, social and administrative training programs increased by more than 50 percent, according to the annual report issued yesterday by its Center for International Cooperation (a unit known by the Hebrew acronym, Mashav). There were 1,300 trainees from the Arab world, including the Palestinian Authority, in 1997, compared to 800 in 1996, Foreign Ministry Spokesman Aviv Shir-On said.

The center also expanded its activities in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, he went on. Five new training projects were initiated in Poland and the Central Asian republics.

## Romania working to return Jewish property

Romanian Prime Minister Radu Vasile said yesterday that he would work more diligently to return Jewish property that was nationalized by his country following World War II.

"Five buildings have already been returned, and on Friday I signed an order to return more structures," Vasile said, as he participated in a Tel Aviv seminar on Israeli-Romanian trade.

"Recently we started working on a bill that will be submitted to parliament in September and will set down the principles for returning Jewish property," he said.

# Ramon hints he'd leave Labor if Orr remains

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN and Ilim

MK Haim Ramon suggested yesterday that he would leave the Labor Party if MK Ori Orr is not expelled from the party's leadership.

"Ori Orr will not be in the leadership of the Labor Party that I'm a part of," Ramon told Army Radio yesterday.

He also emphasized that he is unhappy with how party chairman Ehud Barak responded to the publication of anti-Sephardi comments by Orr.

Barak should have asked Orr to relinquish his Knesset seat, Ramon said.

"I don't have a problem with a chairman who tries to find the golden mean between his commitments to his friends and his obligation to the public, but Barak needed to decide between them. I don't know if Barak made a political mistake," he said.

Orr plans to start a tour of development towns and villages throughout the country next week to explain his comments, which were published in *Ha'aretz* last week. Orr apologized after the comments were published, said the story distorted what he really

had said, and denied he had racist views. Orr said he would start his tour in Ofakim.

But the criticism of Orr, who was suspended from all his duties in Labor's Knesset faction and the party leadership, continued within Labor.

Ramon also said yesterday that he could not ask for the public's confidence if Orr is in Labor's leadership. Ramon added that a party which puts Orr in its leadership is not worthy of the public's confidence.

"If Labor wants to be the party of the whole nation, it cannot [have] people like Orr in it. There's no doubt there is support for racist ideas - no state is exempt. Racists always claim they only say what everyone's thinking. But if Orr received support, it's cause for concern, not for admiration," Ramon said, adding that it will now be that much harder for Labor to ask for the public's confidence.

"Barak wanted to turn over a new leaf, open a new form of communication with the Sephardi communities, to close the chapter of old Mafal's relations with them. Orr's statements will accompany Labor from now on

and it will be that much harder to prove we're not like that," he said.

Shalom Ben-David, Labor's branch secretary in Ofakim, said most people are angry at Orr's statements and will give him a piece of their mind when he arrives. However, others say Orr merely said out loud what everyone thinks, he said.

"When Orr arrives, first I'll take him to the Labor branch, to speak to the party members and to hear them out. I'm not telling him to quit the party. Much harsher things against the Sephardim have been said, from within the Likud as well, and nobody had to go home," Ben-David said.

Ben-David agreed with Orr that functionaries from all parties try to exploit the ethnic gap, citing the prime minister's Knesset speech as an example.

"Instead of speaking about the Knesset's dissolution, [Prime Minister] Binyamin Netanyahu joined the bandwagon of the ethnic issue and that caused the greatest injustice to the Sephardim."

"None of those leaders, who jumped down Orr's throat, have done a thing for the development towns," he said.

# Likud blasts Labor US trip

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

The Likud yesterday sharply criticized this week's trip by Labor Party leaders to Washington for meetings on state affairs, accusing the opposition party of "going to the United States like subversives, to invite pressure on the government."

The delegation, consisting of Labor Party leader Ehud Barak and MKs Yossi Beilin, Shlomo Ben-Ami, and Efraim Sneh, is to meet with Ambassador to the US Zalmay Shoval, US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and members of the American peace team, and AIPAC and Jewish leaders.

Likud MK Uzi Landau said: "If they merely presented their positions and demanded that the Oslo agreements be implemented and the Arabs fulfill their commitments, it wouldn't be so bad. But to go to invite pressure on the government - no wonder Arafat is toughening his stand. He regards Labor's members as a public relations lobby," Landau said.

Labor MK Dalia Itzik, dismissed the criticism, stressing that all the meetings were coordinated with Prime and Foreign Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and the embassy in Washington.

"We didn't ask permission to go, but Netanyahu and the embassy were advised on all the meetings well in advance," Itzik said. "If Netanyahu didn't like any of them, why didn't he say anything?"

Itzik said Netanyahu and the Likud "have a fixed ritual with which they respond to anyone who doesn't agree with them; they brand them as enemies of the state or traitors. Now they want to slander Barak."

"Does anyone really think Barak, the most decorated war hero in the country, is selling state secrets? Or that Labor is subverting the state?"

MK Uzi Baram alleged that the Likud, when in opposition, used to keep a permanent lobby in Washington, whose job was to sabotage the government's policy and prevent support for the Oslo agreement. "Yossi Ben-Aharon and Yoram Ettinger, not to mention Netanyahu himself, were constantly lobbying against prime minister Yitzhak Rabin's policy."

Netanyahu's spokesman Shai Bazak confirmed that Labor did not ask for approval for the trip, saying that "such a trip at such a time, in the midst of such sensitive negotiations, is not helpful."

# Palestinian reporters banned from casual contacts with Israelis

The Palestinian Journalists Association has forbidden its members from engaging in non-professional contact with Israelis and has threatened to blacklist journalists who break the rules, an official from the organization said yesterday.

The decision was taken after the association participated in a larger meeting of Arab press groups last week in Egypt.

"We will form a blacklist of the names of all Palestinian and Arab journalists" who normalize relations with Israel, said Tawfiq Abu Khousa, vice president of the Palestinian Journalists Association in Gaza.

Abu Khousa said that at last

week's conference the Arab Journalists Associations voted unanimously to "confront and stop all forms of normalization of relations with Israel."

Abu Khousa said Palestinian journalists who ignore the ban and meet with Israelis outside the professional sphere would have their names circulated throughout the Arab world and access to high officials would be cut off.

He also said the journalists would be forbidden to participate in academic forums with their Israeli counterparts.

Palestinian Authority officials said they would not lend a hand to enforcing the rules of the journalists association.



Soldiers examine the IDF display at the Jubilee Exhibition. Some 1,500 soldiers went to a special preview of the exhibition last week. (IDF Spokesman)

# Jubilee Exhibition opens this evening

By JUDY SIEGEL and Ilim

A direct Internet broadcast of Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's visit to the Science Ministry pavilion at the Jubilee Exhibition at the Tel Aviv Fairgrounds will be held at 7 p.m. today.

Information on links can be obtained from the ministry site, at [www.most.gov.il](http://www.most.gov.il) or the ISDNet site at <http://isdnet.co.il/main3.htm>.

The pavilion itself will present

photos broadcast from the Technion's Gurwin II satellite, launched on July 10, as well as the Amos and Ofek satellites.

Visitors will go through a three-dimensional, virtual experience and feel as if they are travelling through space.

Another probable hit at the fair, which opens this evening, is the IDF pavilion, which will hold its opening ceremony at 8:30 tonight in the presence of Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, senior IDF brass and top defense

industry officials.

The ceremony will include two videos, a 16-minute presentation on the IDF and later a nine-minute video on the defense industries.

The exhibit by Rafael, the Armaments Development will feature the new advanced Gil anti-tank missile.

The Gil, a shoulder-fired missile, is used by the infantry. It has a range of 2.5 kilometers and has significantly improved the IDF's anti-tank capability.

## CLINTON

Continued from Page 1

Lewinsky, 25, also has denied having sex with the president, but last week received immunity from prosecution and reportedly will acknowledge a sexual relationship when she appears before Starr's grand jury.

Starr must eventually present Congress with a report concerning the Lewinsky affair, the Whitewater land deal in Arkansas and other investigations concerning Clinton or the White House.

The House then must decide whether to send articles of impeachment to the Senate, which could vote on removing him from office.

Former White House senior adviser George Stephanopoulos said if Clinton had a sexual relationship with the former White House volunteer, it's now time to come clean.

## PRISONERS

Continued from Page 1

Erekat, however, would not confirm Abu Rudeineh's assessment that today's meeting might be the last. He said such decisions "should be taken by the Palestinian leadership."

On Saturday night, Arafat led a meeting of the PA cabinet and the Fatah Central Committee that reviewed the latest Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. A statement after the meeting called the talks "a waste of time."

Arafat was quoted as saying that "everything is still frozen."

The PA issued a statement warning Israel against pursuing negotiations as a means of gaining time and holding off US and international pressure. The PA said it would appeal to countries around the world, especially the US, Russia, and other sponsors of the Arab-Israeli peace process, to pressure Israel.

"The Israeli government, which is destroying the peace process and spreading instability, is mistaken if it believes that it can forcibly occupy land and realize stability, security, merely by exchanging peace for peace," the statement said.

"The responsibility of collapse of the peace process is an Israeli responsibility."

Jay Bushinsky adds: "The cabinet is awaiting the outcome of the current round of negotiations before debating the merits of a prospective agreement on the IDF's next redeployment."

Opponents of a 13.1% pullback in the West Bank, especially National Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon, have been withholding comment until a detailed text is submitted to them.

In view of the fact that the negotiators have not yet produced a mutually acceptable formula for an IDF withdrawal, the redeployment issue may not come up at today's cabinet meeting.

# Arab journalist Shriteth barred from Israel

Journalist Taher Shriteth, barred from leaving Gaza during most of the last four years, yesterday received permission to travel abroad but not to enter Israel.

A lawyer from the State Attorney's Office announced the lifting of the ban during a High Court hearing on a petition filed by Taher Shriteth, 37, who has worked for Reuters, *The New York Times*, CBS News and the BBC.

"He is no longer barred from leaving through Rafah," said Nitzan Fein of the State Attorney's Office, referring to the crossing point between Gaza and Egypt.

No decision was reached on Shriteth's main request - to enter Israel for work and to cross Israel to reach the West Bank.

Shriteth has reported from Gaza since 1987 and was awarded the International Freedom of the Press Award in 1993 by the National

Press Club in Washington. Over the years he has been jailed by both Israel and the Palestinians.

In a written response to Shriteth's petition, the state attorney said Shriteth posed a "danger to the security of the country and the region." The state attorney said Shriteth was "an active Hamas member who carried out various tasks for the group" and received financial backing from Hamas.

Shriteth said these allegations were fabricated to try to restrict Palestinian news coverage of events in the area and prevent journalists from travelling freely.

"I am not affiliated with Hamas in any way and I don't even identify with the group's goals," Shriteth said in an affidavit presented to the court. "I not only support the peace process, but I specifically support the Oslo process."

(Reuters)

With deep sorrow we announce the passing away of

**CHAYA (Claire) GASSEL**

Skokie, Illinois

The funeral will take place at the Eretz Hahaim Cemetery in Beit Shemesh, today, August 3, 1998, at 4 p.m.

The bereaved family

With deep sorrow we announce the passing of

**SHERWOOD PERMAN**

of Chicago

The funeral will take place today, Monday, August 3, 1998, at 3 p.m. at Eretz Hahaim Cemetery, Beit Shemesh.

Shiva at 12 Rehov Hagra, Telz Stone, Jerusalem.

Tel: 02-534-0188

The Family

We extend deepest condolences to our

friend and colleague

**Jill Twersky**

and family

on the death of her dear

**Mother**

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Sincerest condolences to

**Judy Montagu**

on the death of her father

**REV. CHARLES LOWY**

Management and Staff

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# Yitzhak Levy: Kiryat Arba youths' detention illegal

By AMY KLEIN

Legal counsel was again denied yesterday to two Kiryat Arba minors suspected of arson and belonging to a Jewish underground. The Jerusalem Magistrate's Court extended their remand until today in a closed-door hearing.

Two more youths were arrested last night on suspicion of damaging Arab property, Israel Radio reported. Education Minister Yitzhak Levy yesterday protested the youths' interrogation by the General Security Service and asked Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to raise the matter at today's cabinet meeting.

"The matter is unprecedented, shocking, incomprehensible, and immoral," Levy said in a statement, "and it raises serious ques-

tions about GSS activities behind sealed walls. We're talking about something totally illegal."

Police arrested the two 15-year-olds last Tuesday and turned them over to the GSS. Police suspect the boys of setting fire to cars and fields belonging to Hebron Arabs. The GSS said they are part of an illegal Jewish underground, and has denied them counsel since then.

However, at their first remand hearing on Tuesday, Judge Aryeh Romanov allowed the boys to meet with their lawyer for about 20 minutes. They have not been allowed to meet with him since, nor speak with their parents.

"The police called me on Thursday and told me that I could see my son," said Abraham, the father of one boy. "But when we [he and the father of the second boy]

arrived, they said we could only see them if we permitted the GSS to give the boys a polygraph test."

The two fathers left in disgust. That incident and the denial of legal counsel to his son has led Abraham to call this a "police state."

"In essence, they have violated all the rights of these minors in the name of security," said Naftali Wertzberger, the boys' lawyer. "There is no proof. The GSS claims to have 'information' and the court is condoning their tactics: arresting the boys without a juvenile officer present, without advising them of their right to remain silent, and denying them a lawyer."

The GSS has a right to deny counsel to suspects in security crimes for up to 21 days, said Rinat Kitai, a lawyer at the Association for Civil Rights in Israel. ACRI

fought the law and in 1996 the Supreme Court ruled that suspects in serious crimes can be denied counsel for 21 days instead of 30.

"We oppose denying anyone a meeting with their lawyer, especially minors," said Kitai. "The GSS wants to pressure suspects so they'll cooperate. In the case of minors it's even worse, because they don't always know what their rights are, and the trauma of arrest and detention is so much greater. Their lawyer is the only one who can help them."

The GSS has often applied these tactics to Palestinian youth, Kitai said, but "there are not many Jewish youths involved in security cases," she said. Wertzberger has appealed against the GSS injunction denying counsel, saying this is the first time this law has been applied to Jewish youth.



The mother of one of the Kiryat Arba arson suspects avoids the camera lens yesterday at Jerusalem Magistrate's Court. (Brian Hendler)

## Limits on the right to legal counsel

The right of a person accused of criminal charges to seek the advice of legal counsel has been described by the US Supreme Court as "one of the safeguards necessary to insure fundamental human rights of life and liberty."

So why limit it?

The primary reason is that authorities fear that such meetings may provide accomplices with due notice, through the services of the lawyer, which would allow them to escape, conceal evidence, or provide a false alibi. Therefore, Israeli law permits the police or the General Security Service to prevent a detainee from meeting with legal counsel under certain circumstances and for a limited time.

This ability was weakened by the Criminal Procedure Law of 1996, which significantly reduced the authorities' ability to prevent such meetings.

Under the new law, the authorities would normally be able to delay such a meeting, when necessary, only up to 24 hours.

The one exception to this rule is when detainees are suspected of offenses related to state security, as is claimed of the Kiryat Arba teenagers currently being held.

In such cases, the 1996 law allows officials to prevent a suspect from seeing a lawyer for up to

10 days, and an extension may be granted by a court for a total period of up to 21 days.

The Israeli Supreme Court has specified that the authorities may not prevent the accused from meeting with a lawyer simply for convenience, but only when it is "necessary" for the investigation. Judicial review of the use of these police powers is fairly limited, however, for the obvious reason that the lawyer arguing it may not meet with his client to prepare the case.

There are problems with the authorities exercising this power —

particularly in cases when the suspects in question are minors.

In the Kiryat Arba case, it has been reported that the GSS investigators told the suspects, who are 15 years old, that they would only be allowed to see their parents if they agreed to take a polygraph test.

Since lie detector tests are not mandatory under the law, such pressure is blatantly illegal and, if proven true, the investigators should be prosecuted.

If the suspects had been able to receive legal advice, they might have known this.

### ANALYSIS

By HILLY SOMMER

Dr. Sommer is a lecturer at the Radzyner Law School, Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya.

## Weizman: We must get out of Lebanon

President Ezer Weizman, visiting yesterday with the five IDF soldiers wounded in Thursday's Hizbullah ambush in Lebanon, said that Israel must leave southern Lebanon.

After speaking with the wounded and their families at Rebecca Sieff Hospital in Safed, Weizman told reporters: "We must get out of Lebanon, but we have to do this intelligently, so that the situation after we leave won't be worse."

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai and Chief of General Staff Shaul Mofaz have some ideas for getting out of Lebanon.

But the key is with the Syrians.

"It's a difficult issue, but one thing is clear: we must get out of Lebanon."

From the hospital, he proceeded to the Kfar Ahim home of the Mins family, whose son, Shabar, was killed in the ambush.

Sieff Hospital officials said that at least three of the lightly wounded soldiers would be released in the coming days. The one who suffered moderate wounds will be transferred to a hospital in the center of the country, to make it easier for his family to visit him. (Iim)

## Fire services slow to implement changes

By NOAH STREET and Iim

Many of the recommendations of a 1995 commission of inquiry into improving fire-fighting techniques have not been implemented, Mondy Tzchaki, spokesman for the Fire and Rescue Service Commissioner, said yesterday.

"The 1995 commission suggested opening new stations and buying new fire trucks among many other things, but we cannot open that many new stations and we cannot buy all the necessary trucks because we simply don't have the money," he said.

Saturday evening's fire at the entrance to Jerusalem was quelled about 5:30 p.m. and was quelled by 10 p.m. About 40 firemen from 12 divisions responded to the fire.

Tzchaki said that the fire was somewhat difficult to contain because it also spread along the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway causing a thick smog which made it difficult for the firemen to navigate.

The fire destroyed dozens of dunams of woodland in the Azazim Valley. The fire is believed to have been the result of arson.

A fire erupted again yesterday in the same area, near the entrance to Jerusalem, but was extinguished

quickly, Iim reported.

Officials warned that with the heat wave predicted to continue at least through Thursday, residents should be careful not to throw lit cigarette butts out of their car windows and to take other precautions to avoid igniting fires.

Avraham Shaked an official of the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel, told Israel Radio yesterday "It will take 10-30 years to completely reforest the destroyed areas."

The conflagration was a harsh reminder of the forest fire that ravaged the Jerusalem Corridor on July 2, 1995. That fire left 29 people injured, destroyed 20,000 dunams of forest between Sha'ar Hagai and Neveh Ilan and dozens of homes, forced the evacuation of seven communities, and shut down the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway for most of the day.

After that fire, the government set up a commission of inquiry to investigate the fire department's poor response time and lack of proper equipment.

The commission, headed by Maj. Gen. (res.) Amos Lapidot, found that the country's fire-fighting forces were "very far from satisfactory," and are "not equipped to handle large and extensive fires."

## Patient throws urine at doctor in hospital

By JUDY SEGEL

A surgeon in Laniado Hospital's emergency room was attacked on Shabbat by an 18-year-old patient who beat him, cut his leg and threw a urine sample at him.

Dr. Gennady Masharov filed a complaint with the police, but the attacker — apparently a drug addict — has not yet been arrested even though his identity is known.

Hospital officials said they were furious at the incident — one of a dozen in the country's hospitals during the past three months — and demanded that a policeman be posted in every emergency room around the clock.

Officials at the Netanya hospital said its own guards arrived after the incident, but they lack the experience and authority of policemen.

Health Ministry spokesman Yoram Malka said he would look into the matter today.

The Israel Medical Association said it "wouldn't agree to a situation in which doctors become punching bags."

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# NEWS

in brief

## Soldier shoots up engagement party

Celebrants attending an engagement party in Kafr Deir Hanna in Galilee on Saturday night had to run for their lives when an 18-year-old soldier, who was apparently in love with the woman getting engaged, shot up the catering hall with his M-16 rifle. Miraculously, no one was hurt.

The soldier shot at the hall from a nearby hill. A man who was in the area by chance chased the soldier down and grabbed his gun away from him.

The soldier has confessed to police. He was expected to be remanded in the Acre Magistrate's Court.

Itim

## TA Religious Council employees declare strike

Employees of the Tel Aviv Religious Council yesterday declared an open-ended strike, beginning today, that will shut down all the council's services, including the mikvaot (ritual baths), slaughterhouses, and the marriage registrar.

The cause of the strike is a stalemate in negotiations on grade rises and a delay in the council's payments to workers' pension and study funds.

Religious Affairs Ministry spokesman Shimon Malka said the strike contravenes an injunction issued by the local rabbinic court, which forbade the labor action, stressing the importance of the mikvaot.

Itim

## Olmert still interested in running with Labor

Jerusalem Mayor MK Ehud Olmert has not given up the idea of running for reelection on a joint list with the Labor Party, according to a statement issued by his public relations advisers yesterday. Olmert told a gathering of the Israel Management Center that the decision not to run with him was taken by Labor Party officials in Tel Aviv, while Jerusalem Laborites still favor the idea. He said he will continue to champion the idea as a way to achieve a "politics of reconciliation." Olmert also said he intends to include a non-Jewish candidate on his election list.

Jerusalem Post Staff

## 227 million cubic meters of sewage dumped

Each year the country dumps some 227 million cubic meters of sewage – a third of this untreated – into streams, rivers, and the sea, according to a report by the Agriculture Ministry's coordinator for water, Yoram Tamari, released yesterday.

The effluents pollute the water sources, including underground aquifers, and cause serious ecological damage, the report states.

If all of this unused sewage were treated and used, it could replace a quarter of the 882 million cubic meters of water used by the country's farmers, Tamari said.

Jerusalem Post Staff

## Border Police arrests 36 in North

Border policemen arrested 36 people suspected of car theft and other crimes in a three-day operation in the North that ended early yesterday.

Nineteen of those arrested are suspected of involvement in car thefts. The others were suspected of a variety of crimes, from possessing drugs and forged money to stealing Jerusalem stone. The suspects include several people wanted by the General Security Service.

A Border Police vehicle was seriously damaged while pursuing a stolen vehicle during the operation.

Itim

## Labor and Ministry workers impose sanctions

Some 3,500 workers from the Labor and Social Affairs Ministry plan to begin work sanctions today to protest Labor and Social Affairs Minister Eli Yishai's failure to respond to their demands regarding wages and contracting work to agencies and freelancers. They had put off imposing sanctions since December 1997, at Yishai's request.

Ministry offices will not be open to the public today.

Itim

## Experts: Drink 12-15 glasses of water per day

During these hot days, everyone should drink 12-15 glasses of water a day, Kupa Holim Cholim dietitians recommended yesterday. Cold, sugarless water is best because it isn't fattening; milk is considered a food and not included in the minimum for drinking.

Eating a fresh fruit is better than drinking fruit juices, which are full of sugar. Avoid carbonated beverages because they give a sense of fullness and make it difficult to drink enough water.

The Cholim experts also said it's permitted to drink before, during and after meals and that it's important to drink when one suffers from diarrhea to prevent dehydration.

Judy Siegel

# TA teaches women to defend themselves

By ALLISON KAPLAN SOMMER

Responding to the sense of fear that has swept the city's female population after a recent series of rapes, the Tel Aviv Municipality yesterday began a series of self-defense workshops for women.

Wielding a plastic knife, Tel Aviv Mayor Ronni Milo played the role of an attacker, as defense expert Avi Moyal demonstrated to some 25 women gathered in a downtown community center how to respond if a potential rapist approaches them from behind. Moyal showed them various techniques for catching the attacker off guard, such as biting his hand when he attempts to cover their mouth, stepping on his foot, and jabbing one's elbow backwards into his genitals.

"All of these moves may surprise him and give you enough time to scream and run away," Moyal advised.

He also showed the women how to use self-defense devices such as an electric stun instrument or a small canister of tear gas.

"The most important thing to remember with any of these things is that if you do not carry them in your hand when you walk alone, they are worthless. In the case of an attack, you are simply not going to have enough time to get them out of your purse," he said.

Milo said yesterday that the purpose of the workshops, which will be given at various community centers around the city, is to "help Tel Aviv women feel more prepared and hopefully, a bit safer."

The workshops also are intended to send a message to potential rapists that "perhaps may cause them to think twice before they attempt to commit a crime."

Milo said that he believed the police is doing its utmost to capture the serial rapist believed to be at large in the city. "Rape is the most terrible thing that can happen to a woman, it can scar her and affect her for the rest of her life. There is no way one can exaggerate this danger and I think the newspapers and broadcasters are doing a

great service by alerting the public to this danger," he said.

Galia Wolf, a 24-year-old Tel Aviv resident, said that after attending the workshop, she was considering purchasing a canister of tear gas to help protect herself.

"I came because I wanted to be more aware of how I can fight back. This rapist is really affecting everyone's lives – many of my friends are staying home in the evenings, refusing to go out because they are so afraid," she said.



Worshippers sit on the ground at the Western Wall plaza Saturday night, reading the book of Lamentations and reciting dirges to commemorate the destruction of the First and Second Temples on Tisha Be'av.

(Reuters)

## Extremists arrested trying to enter Temple Mount

By AMY KLEIN

Jerusalem police arrested nine people in the Old City yesterday during Tisha Be'av prayer services, including three Temple Mount Faithful activists who tried to force their way onto the mount through the Mugrabi Gate.

A group of 50 people from the Temple Mount Faithful, wearing sack-cloth and ashes, marched from the Western Wall to the Mugrabi Gate. Police, however, refused to let them enter to recite Tisha Be'av elegies (kinot) on the mount.

The activists tried to force their way through the gate, but police used "moderate" force to disperse them, said Jerusalem police spokesman Shmuel Ben-Ruby.

Three Kach activists were arrested by the Gate of the Chains, one of the access gates to the Temple Mount, after they yelled out "death to the Arabs," which fueled heated arguments between Arabs and Jews in the area.

In a third incident police took in three minors who assaulted a Channel 1 crew at the Western Wall during a live interview with Anat Hoffman, a Jerusalem city

councillor from Meretz.

Channel 1 reporter Carmel Luchati said a group of teenagers shouted, "Channel 1, left-wingers!" and threw stones at the crew. They also tampered with the TV equipment and prevented them from feeding the live interview, said Luchati.

The Channel 1 team decided to return to the station rather than further confront the youths.

One of the crew's mobile phones was lost. Police took in five minors for questioning, and released two later in the afternoon.

## IAI launching sales blitz in Romania

By STEVE RODAN

Israel Aircraft Industries plans to send three technical teams to Romania next month to pursue efforts to sell Bucharest a list of military and civilian aviation systems.

IAI executives said the deals could significantly expand the company's presence in Romania, now dominated by IAI's chief rival, the Haifa-based Elbit Systems Ltd.

The teams, which will be hosted by Romania's ministries of defense, industry, and transport,

will explore the sales of IAI's Galaxy executive jet, unmanned aircraft vehicles, and electronic warfare systems.

"We have many programs with IAI," Romanian Prime Minister Radu Vasile said yesterday on a tour of IAI. "We are interested in the possibility of purchase, as well as industrial cooperation."

IAI president Moshe Keret said his company has ties with Romania's aerospace industry. Although he did not elaborate, IAI subsidiary Elta Electronics Industries Ltd., Ashdod, serves as a

subcontractor for the upgrade of the MiG-21 fighter jet. Elta is supplying the fire-control radar for the combat plane in a contract led by Elbit.

"We have about 150 Romanian experts working on the Galaxy project," Keret said. "We have a lot of ideas and programs to do mutually with the Romanian aerospace industry. We consider Romania to be a natural and very experienced place, with good people."

Romanian officials acknowledged that the biggest hurdle to expanded cooperation with IAI will be financing. Bucharest is undergoing a severe financial crisis and the International Monetary Fund has recommended that Romania curtail several defense projects, including one that would develop a Cobra-based Dracula helicopter with the US firm Bell Helicopter Textron Inc.

As Vasile was entering helicopters and planes being refurbished by IAI, Romanian government economists were arguing how Bucharest would pay for any new defense programs.

"I guess if the government really wants these things it will find a way to pay for it," a Romanian official said. "This is the way it has been done in the past."

## Mordechai approves IAI strategic plan

By STEVE RODAN

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai yesterday approved a multiyear plan for Israel Aircraft Industries that maps out the marketing and research and development strategy of the government-owned company.

The plan details IAI's needs up to the year 2010 in the face of changing world markets and stresses the company's intention to become less bureaucratic, more competitive, and engage in joint ventures with both Israeli and foreign contractors. In a session attended by Defense Ministry Director-General Ilan Biran, IAI chairman Avigdor Ben-Gal, and president Moshe Keret, participants stressed the need for IAI to bring out new products and technologies before the competition.

IAI sources said the company forecasts 6-7 percent growth for both 1998 and 1999, but expects difficulties from the year 2000 for both IAI and the rest of the defense industry.

Mordechai called IAI the flagship of Israel's defense industries and said its multiyear plan is vital, given the decreasing defense budgets both in Israel and the rest of the world and the mergers of defense contractors in Europe and the US.

"Only a correct assessment today in terms of marketing and technological needs can give an answer for the future and ensure the competitive and qualitative capability [of IAI]," Mordechai said, adding the multiyear plan would have to undergo annual review for possible revisions in the face of changing market conditions.

The defense minister said IAI's strategy to expand its space portfolio is correct and could eventually be profitable. IAI is seeking to enter the space-imaging and light-launcher market in the US and Europe.

IAI executives said the plan does not forecast any structural changes in IAI. This includes the recommendations of a Mordechai-appointed panel, headed by Maj.-Gen. (res.) Moshe Peled that would privatize and restructure the company.



Health Minister Yehoshua Matza pinches the cheek of a not-so-pleased David Bogdan, while Romanian Prime Minister Radu Vasile pats the cheek of Alexandra Andre at Ben-Gurion Airport yesterday. The two children arrived on Vasile's plane, to be treated for leukemia.

(Yisrael Hodari)

## Romanian PM brings two kids with him for cancer treatment

By VITA BEKKER

Romanian Prime Minister Radu Vasile gave two children a lift on his government plane to Israel yesterday: Six-year-old David Bogdan and 12-year-old Alexandra Andre, who will both be treated for leukemia.

Wearing a white lace dress and accompanied by her mother, Alexandra burst into tears when asked by reporters how she felt moments after landing in Israel for medical treatment.

"This is the Holy Land and we

hope God can help her," said Alexandra's mother, Adriana, as she wiped away her daughter's tears.

Vasile, who began a four-day visit to Israel yesterday, brought the children for treatment here as part of an agreement signed between the two countries.

Two more children will arrive next year for the expensive transplants, Health Minister Yehoshua Matza said.

The Israeli government is covering the costs for the treatment and taking care of relatives that came with the children, Matza said. (AP)

## Where to eat in Israel

### JERUSALEM

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## Yad Vashem: Remove crosses at Auschwitz

By HILARY APPELMAN

The Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial demanded yesterday that Polish authorities immediately remove dozens of wooden crosses put up by Polish Catholics outside the former Auschwitz death camp.

A statement from Yad Vashem called the erection of the crosses a "provocative act" by "extreme groups."

Yad Vashem said the act violated an agreement reached earlier this year by between itself, the US Holocaust Museum in Washington and Polish government and church authorities, "according to which no religious, ideological or political symbols would be erected on the site."

"The placing of the crosses, after special efforts have been made to reduce tensions, may aggravate the situation and may prevent further dialogue between the sides about the future of the site," the statement said.

No response was available yesterday from Polish officials.

Last week, several dozen Catholics from Silesia placed a three-meter cross and about 50 smaller ones outside the walls of the camp.

The wooden crosses surround an 8-meter cross erected outside the camp to commemorate a 1979 papal Mass.

The agreement reached earlier this year between Polish authorities and Jewish groups did not resolve the dispute over whether the papal cross should be left at the site.

Jewish groups have said the large cross, which is visible from the former death camp, is an insult to the memory of the 1.5 million Jews who died there.

Yad Vashem director Avner Shalev said that the placement of the new crosses was "a clear provocation" that was "very painful for any member of the Jewish people and many others."

"I'm really worried that this kind of provocation will bring other attacks," he said.

Shalev said he hoped government and church officials in Poland would act immediately to remove the crosses.

"Everyone agrees and understands that Auschwitz should be kept in the authentic way that it was left," he said.

Shalev said Auschwitz was a symbol to the world "of the infinity of evil that has been inflicted by human beings."

(AP)

## Protesters want Even back on 'Mabat'

By NOAH STREET

"We want Geula Even back!" That was the message about 50 female protesters delivered yesterday morning to the Israel Broadcasting Authority during a demonstration outside Television House in Jerusalem.

The women were protesting the decision by IBA head Uri Porat to replace Even as anchor of Channel 1's 'Mabat' with her predecessor, Chaim Yavin, who he lured back from a short stay at Channel 2.

The protest was called by the Israel Women's Network (IWN) and several other feminist organizations.

"We are not demonstrating just because Geula is a woman. She also happens to be a superb anchor," IWN spokeswoman Orit Sulitzeanu explained. "We believe that the way she was treated is part of the chauvinistic thought that permeates Mabat."

Sulitzeanu cited statements attributed to Porat, who was quoted as saying Even is too young and only suitable for children's programming.

"If Mabat has a problem with her age, then why does Army Radio employ young people?" she asked.

Gail Har-Even, author and feminist activist, said that both she and her children saw Even as a role model in an almost completely male-dominated industry. In protest, Har-Even has promised to boycott Mabat.

MK Naomi Chazan (Meretz)



Members of the Israel Women's Network demonstrate yesterday in front of Television House in Jerusalem, demanding that IBA head Uri Porat reverse his decision to replace 'Mabat' anchor Geula Even with Chaim Yavin. (Brian Hendler)

said: "The truth is, this is a basic feminist issue and an issue of freedom of speech and broadcast. Porat is beginning to look like the long-arm of the current gov-

ernment." She explained that firing Even is an example of the systematic manner through which Mabat is becoming a puppet of the government.

IBA spokeswoman Michal Meron-Shaked told Israel Radio yesterday that the firing of Even is not a feminist but rather professional issue.

"What will happen is Chaim Yavin will return and the ratings will skyrocket... There is a new director-general and he wants to try something different."

## Where to stay in Israel

### AKKO

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# 'US plans to rebuild Iraqi opposition'

'Washington Post' report coincides with Butler's return to Baghdad

The Clinton administration has prepared a detailed, 27-page plan to rebuild Iraq's political opposition and prepare a case for a possible war crimes indictment of Iraqi leaders, *The Washington Post* reported in yesterday's editions.

The newspaper said the plan called for spending \$5 million, which Congress had already made available, to train opposition groups in organizing and recruitment techniques and to fund a center for exile activities in London.

The funds would also be used to translate and index millions of captured Iraqi documents for possible use as evidence in war crimes prosecution, according to the report.

The *Post* said senior officials had hinted that a parallel and covert effort to subvert the regime of Saddam Hussein in Baghdad was under development.

They told the paper they did not expect their plan would result in an early end to Saddam's regime, but that they wanted to support and unify the Iraqi opposition in hopes of fostering an orderly transition to democracy should his regime unexpectedly fall.

A US State Department official held talks with rival Kurdish leaders in northern Iraq last month in an effort to strengthen a fledgling peace process between their factions in northern Iraq.

US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State David Welch met Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) leader Massoud Barzani over the weekend for talks on disputes with the rival Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), led by Jalal Talabani.

Under the blueprint for strengthening Iraq's opposition, the two men would be invited to visit Washington later this year, the *Post* reported.

The newspaper quoted one Republican Senate aide who has analyzed the plan as saying it was "fatally flawed," and some of the 73 opposition groups listed were "penetrated by Baghdad."

Meanwhile, chief UN arms inspector Richard Butler arrived in Iraq yesterday for talks on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction.



UN arms inspector Richard Butler

which Baghdad says must hasten an end to international sanctions, a UN official said.

Iraqi newspapers accused Butler of prolonging his work to suit US policy which they said was aimed at extending sanctions imposed after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990.

"Iraqis are doubtful about Butler's credibility and the honesty of his [UN Special] Commission's members," the ruling Baath party newspaper *Al-Thawra* said.

The government newspaper *Al-Jumhuriya* accused UNSCOM, and particularly its American members, of telling lies in order to manufacture a crisis between Iraq and the UN.

UNSCOM weapons inspectors overseeing the destruction of Iraq's ballistic, chemical and biological weapons under the terms of the 1991 Gulf War cease-fire, say Iraq has consistently misled them over the extent of some of its weapons programs.

Iraq says it destroyed all its proscribed weapons years ago. Janet Sullivan, special assistant to the director of the UN Baghdad Monitoring and Verification Center, said Butler's plane landed at Habbaniyah airport about one hour's drive west of Baghdad.

Butler's 19-strong UNSCOM delegation includes his deputy Charles Duelfer, three UNSCOM commissioners, a legal adviser and a group of experts on biological, chemical and ballistic weapons.

Butler will hold talks with Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister Tarek Aziz today and tomorrow before he leaves on Wednesday on a two-month work program he agreed on with Aziz in June.

The plan aims at speeding up final verification of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction.

He was due to meet staff of the Baghdad Monitoring and Verification Center yesterday. Iraqi leaders issued a statement on Thursday, saying they would take measures if crippling sanctions imposed for Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait were not removed as soon as possible.

They said their action would be based on the outcome of Butler's visit.

"We will call within a short time for a comprehensive national discussion to decide what to do to protect our people's interest and our nation's sovereignty and security," they said.

UNSCOM must give Iraq a clean bill of health before economic sanctions can be lifted.

(Reuters)



## Albanian flight continues

Ethnic Albanian refugees travel in a cart behind a tractor yesterday to flee shelling in the area near the village of Diviljak in Kosovo. Albania's state-run ATA news agency said eight ethnic Albanians were killed yesterday in Serb shelling of villages in Kosovo's Drenica area. Serb forces shelled and burned ethnic Albanian homes yesterday in what appeared to be a campaign to drive ethnic Albanian civilians from part of Kosovo that had been under rebel control. Serb sources said the fighting erupted only after rebels fired on police checkpoints along the road between Pristina and Pec, which government forces cleared last week.

(AP)

## India-Pakistan shelling eases in Kashmir

CHINARI, Pakistan (Reuters) — India and Pakistan traded fire yesterday for a fourth day across the disputed Kashmir border, but Pakistan said the intensity of the exchanges was easing.

Military officials in the Pakistani-ruled part of the Himalayan territory said firing even had stopped completely along some sectors of the 720km. long cease-fire line, the so-called "line of control" or LOC. They said more than 57 Pakistani civilians had been killed and 75 wounded by Indian mortar, rocket and artillery fire by Friday night, and that the toll could rise as more reports came in from the extremely remote region.

Indian officials put the death toll on their side at over 30.

The Acting Prime Minister of Pakistani-ruled Azad (free) Jammu and Kashmir, Ishaq Zafar, told a rally in the town of Chinari that more than 50,000 people had been displaced from Pakistani villages by Indian shelling since June 23.

Pakistan's Foreign Ministry said on Saturday it had summoned the Indian acting high commissioner and protested about the escalation of clashes, which it blamed on Indian troops. Pakistan also said Indian air force planes had violated the LOC four times on Saturday, and that its own air force had sent up fighters for possible retaliation.

Indian authorities denied the charges. Clashes have escalated along the cease-fire line since both sides

conducted nuclear tests in May. Each country accuses the other of firing first without provocation.

Temper was running high among Pakistani villagers who had had to abandon their homes due to the shelling. One resident of Chakothi, on the disputed border, said his entire family had been killed on Thursday by an Indian mortar which landed on his house.

Mohammed Suleman, a retired soldier, said he had counted at least a thousand blasts in the space of a few hours.

"It felt like an invasion is about to take place," he said.

Another villager, Mohammed Sadeeq, said an Indian shell had killed his 18-year-old wife of six months.

"I want weapons, I want to go to

the Indian side and kill the killers of my wife," he raged.

Pakistan and India have fought over Kashmir in two of their three wars since independence from Britain in 1947. The two countries have failed to find common ground for a resumption of dialogue over their various disputes in talks in the Sri Lankan capital of Colombo during the week.

New Delhi, which is fighting a separatist revolt in the two-thirds of Kashmir it controls, maintains that the whole region is an integral part of India. Islamabad wants the predominantly Moslem region to be allowed to decide for itself, through a UN-mandated and internationally supervised plebiscite, whether it wants to join India or Pakistan.

## Kuwait: Iraqi mines have killed and maimed over 4,000

KUWAIT (AP) — Mines laid on the land and in the sea by Iraqi troops after their invasion eight years ago have claimed more than 1,700 lives, according to a government study published yesterday.

*Al-Anba* daily said the study also indicated that 2,300 civilians have been maimed, most of them children.

The figures were announced on the eighth anniversary of Iraq's August 2, 1990, invasion of Kuwait. A US-led coalition ended Iraq's occupation seven months later.

The newspaper said the figures did not include 84

mine-clearing experts killed on the job or 200 who were injured.

Since Kuwait's liberation in February 1991, teams from the United States, Britain, France, Egypt, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Turkey have removed around 1.64 million mines out of an estimated 2 million left by the Iraqis.

*Al-Anba* quoted the report as saying that the work of the mine-clearing teams was made more difficult, because the Iraqis did not provide maps or other information on the mine fields. Shifting desert sand has buried some five meters deep.

## Largest group of dinosaur prints found

LA PAZ, Bolivia (Reuters) — The world's largest group of dinosaur footprints has been discovered at a site near the Bolivian town of Sucre, a Swiss paleontologist who has been studying the area said, local media reported Saturday.

Footprints up to one meter were found in the area, which includes prints of several dinosaur species, making it one of the rarest finds in the world.

"There is no comparable site in the world," said Swiss paleontologist Christian Meyer, according to local media. Meyer's team has been studying the site for the last two months, after Bolivian scientists found it two years ago, and recently concluded it is the

largest site known to exist in the world.

The site covers an area of some 25,000 square meters, Meyer said, emphasizing that nowhere else on Earth is there an area that large with dinosaur footprints. He called on authorities to protect the site.

The area is situated in a limestone quarry, with the prints embedded in the mountainside, at inclines of up to 70 degrees.

The prints are whole and look like the dinosaurs might have been walking in a mud lake.

Meyer warned that the prints could disappear altogether within 20 years because of rain and wind if efforts are not made to protect them from erosion and destruction.

## Yugoslav tribunal to investigate suspect's death

AMSTERDAM (Reuters) — The Yugoslavia war crimes tribunal said yesterday it would launch an internal inquiry into the death this weekend of a top suspect, the second in just over a month.

The announcement coincided with contradictory comments by the suspect's lawyers about whether ailing Bosnian Serb Milan Kovacevic received proper medical attention.

Kovacevic, 57, died in his cell on Saturday morning of a heart attack. He was the only suspect on trial for genocide.

"All aspects of the death will be looked into," tribunal spokesman Christian Chantier told Reuters.

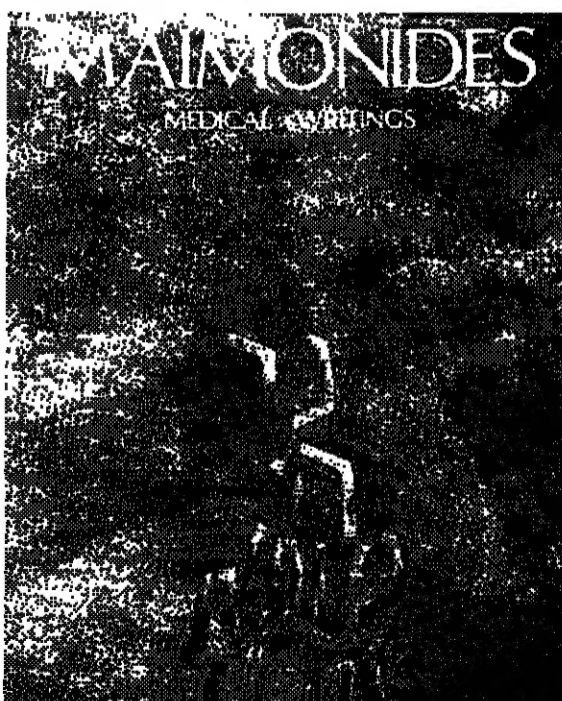
One of Kovacevic's lawyers said tribunal officials had failed to give

his client, who had a history of health problems, adequate medical treatment.

"Kovacevic died because the tribunal had not provided the necessary medical assistance he had asked for the previous day," attorney Igor Pantelic was quoted as saying in Serbia's *Politika* Express newspaper.

"The defense had warned last July of Kovacevic's deteriorating health," Pantelic said, adding that he had requested his client's release on parole last year after medical tests by Yugoslav and US experts.

Another of Kovacevic's attorneys, however, Dusan Vucicevic, said he spoke to his client the night before his death.



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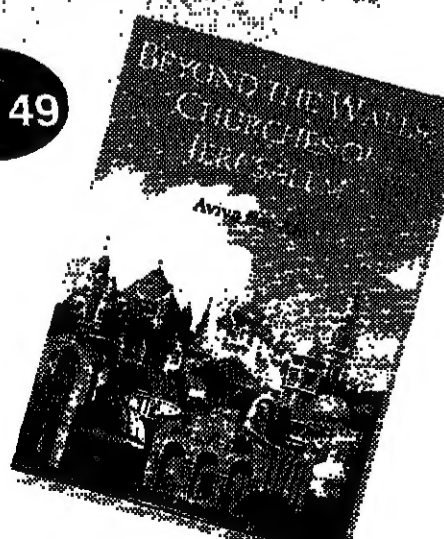
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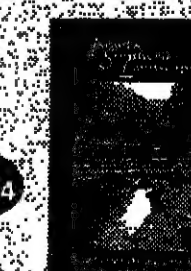
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# 'High Art' is all strung out

## Movie Review

By Adina Hoffman

Lisa Cholodenko's *High Art* is a somber affair, a film that unfolds in a series of dimly lit rooms where drowsy-looking downtown types snort heroin, hang out and slur their words.

### HIGH ART

★ ★

Written and directed by Lisa Cholodenko. Hebrew title: *Meshehach me'etamim*. 102 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Not recommended for children. With Ally Sheedy, Rudha Mitchell, Patricia Clarkson, Tammy Grimes, Gabriel Mann.

(The "high" of the title is the picture's only attempt at humor.) Set against the backdrop of the New York art world, the movie's real subject is seduction in its various forms - sexual, commercial, narcotic. And while a certain grungy, anthropological fascination evolves from some of these druged interactions, there is, too, a wearisome aimlessness to the script itself, as if Cholodenko thought the best way to portray strung-out people were to direct in a strung-out manner.

But the filmmaker is no dummy, and for her understated work with the actors she does deserve praise. Rosy-cheeked Rudha Mitchell plays Sid, a naive young editor at an art magazine, who lives with her boyfriend and seems generally happy at the start of the film. She's got the innocent ambition of a recent Ivy League graduate and displays her occasional insecurity by referring much too readily to the likes of Barthes and Foucault. In the early scenes, Cholodenko steps back and lets this character

be. As freshly played by Mitchell, there's a sweetness and emotional simplicity to Sid that makes us feel for her, no matter how silly she sounds. At this stage, we can see her intellectualizing as a defense - not to be taken too seriously.

Things grow more complicated when Sid meets her upstairs neighbor, Lucy (Ally Sheedy), a former art-star photographer who has given up the professional life and now spends her days getting high and slouching around with her lesbian lover (Patricia Clarkson), a flamboyant German actress whose career seems to have ended when Fassbinder died. (As should be clear from this brief description, Cholodenko's script, which won an award at the last Sundance festival, suffers from a pseudo-sophisticate's tendency to name-drop.)

With her sharp jaw and wiry boy's body, Sheedy is jumpy, tense and quite compelling. Her Lucy is just as wary and jaded as Sid is trusting and open. She seems always a beat or two ahead of her conversational partner, and at first the interactions between the very different women have an intriguing charge, based on an obvious physical attraction but also on a longing that's more wistful: each wishes she were more like the other. Their friendship develops. Sid encourages Lucy to return to the fast track by shooting a cover for her glitzy magazine, and soon the two become lovers.

Up to this point, Cholodenko does a fine, measured job of simply presenting these characters and turning her eye candidly on the script itself, as if Cholodenko thought the best way to portray strung-out people were to direct in a strung-out manner. But the filmmaker is no dummy, and for her understated work with the actors she does deserve praise. Rosy-cheeked Rudha Mitchell plays Sid, a naive young editor at an art magazine, who lives with her boyfriend and seems generally happy at the start of the film. She's got the innocent ambition of a recent Ivy League graduate and displays her occasional insecurity by referring much too readily to the likes of Barthes and Foucault. In the early scenes, Cholodenko steps back and lets this character



Ally Sheedy plays Lucy, a photographer turned addict who slouches around with her lesbian lover.

# An ancient curse that still rings true

By HELEN KAYE

Two brothers stand on the brink of war. One wants to return to his native soil. The other prevents him. All efforts to make peace fail, and the final outcome is not victory for one, but death for both.

This frighteningly familiar scenario is not Israel, or Bosnia, or anywhere contemporary. It's the premise behind Euripides' *The Phoenician Women* that was written more than 2,500 years ago and opens at the Beersheba Theater tonight.

"Today's conflicts are connected with biblical myths like Cain and Abel, and we follow that old curse," says the play's Polish director, Krzysztof Warlikowski. "But there's something in this play that groans up from the ground for this region. I don't want to make a political comment. I want the audience to understand it."

Deliberately, he doesn't label the bellicose brothers, saying that "they could be Jew and Arab, religious and secular, left and right."

They are the princes Polyneices (Moshe Naor) and Eteocles (Nevo Kimhi), sons born to the incestuous marriage of Oedipus and Jocasta. The play opens with Jocasta (Orna Porat) telling the audience the curse-ridden genesis of this imminent confrontation.

Seated cross-legged on a cushion - "don't ask what it cost to become comfortable!" quips Porat - Jocasta tells the story of her loveless and barren marriage to Laius, King of Thebes, of the oracle which prophesies that Laius's son will kill his father and marry his mother, of how the longed-for baby is wrenched from his mother's arms and put out on a hill to die, and then, of course, the fulfillment of the curse.

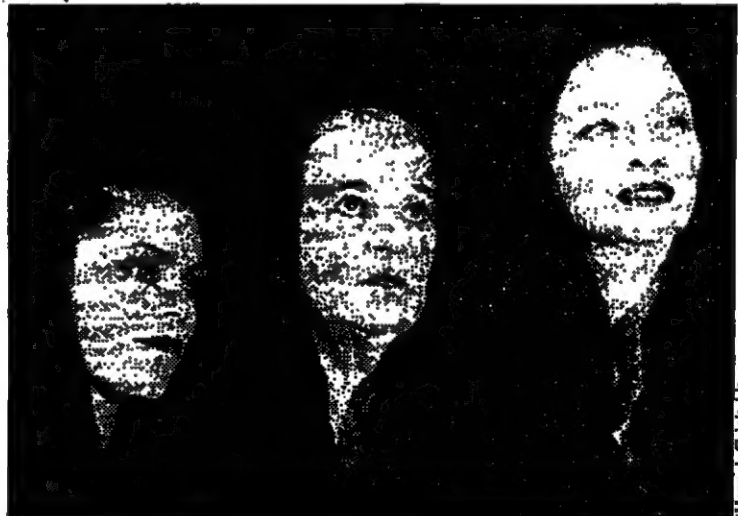
"Of course she is a victim," says Porat of her role, "but part of her despair and agony comes from the knowledge of her powerlessness to avert the future she sees so clearly. She is beset by the sin of her incestuous marriage, but the curse is also her greatest blessing. She loves her son, a maternal love she mistakes for wedded bliss."

In a last-ditch effort to avert war, Jocasta brings the brothers together, reminding them that they have agreed to meet to discuss peace. The lust for power is at the heart of every awfulness, she points out to them. And Porat, the actress, agrees with Warlikowski that it's also the heart of every human tragedy.

The 35-year-old director is familiar with Israel. He directed *The Trial* at Beit Zvi in 1995 and did *Hamlet* there last year.

Warlikowski came late to directing but has impeccable credentials. From 1981-89 he studied history, languages and philosophy in Cracow and at the Sorbonne in Paris. He studied directing at the Cracow National School of Drama from which he graduated in 1993. During this time, he worked with Peter Brook in Paris, Ingmar Bergman in Stockholm and the late Giorgio Strehler in Milan.

From Bergman "I learned how to work with people," he says "and how to trust my actors. Strehler was always very theatrical and from Brook I learned sim-



'The Phoenician Women' is a frighteningly familiar scenario.

licity." He means the kind of simplicity that comes from paring away the non-essentials. This production of *The Phoenician Women* relies on the power of its text. Working with the actors, says Warlikowski, "has given me so

much. It's a very emotional play on a very emotional subject. When I speak with them of sacrifice or of loss, I feel it [in them]. I work abroad only if there's a real reason for doing a play. I couldn't do this Euripides elsewhere."

# Sing, sing, sing

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

Some 1,300 singers from 12 countries assemble in Jerusalem later this month for the 18th consecutive Zimriya (World Assembly of Choirs). For 10 days, 18 local and 14 international choirs will participate in intensive workshops closed to the public and perform in concerts.

The Zimriya's opening concert (August 10 at the Jerusalem International Convention Center) features the *Songs of Solomon*, a work written four centuries ago by Jewish composer Salomone de Rossi, and the world premiere of *Song of Comfort* by Israeli composer Menahem Wiesenberg.

The Willow Herbs choir from Nazareth will also perform in the opening concert, marking the first time an Arab choir participates in the Zimriya.

The workshops start on August 11 and will be presented by leading choral music experts from all over the world: Frieder Bernius from Germany, Timothy Brown from England, Robert De Cormier from the US, Harold Lenzelink from the Netherlands and many others.

Some workshops will focus on specific choral works like Brahms' *Zigeunerlieder* or Verdi Brahms' *Zigeunerlieder*. Others will examine choral works ranging from Monteverdi to Mozart to Bernstein. Jazz, folk, spirituals,



Hundreds of singers gather for the 18th Zimriya in Jerusalem.

Hassidic and Israeli music will be theme of other workshops.

Gary Bertini, one of Israel's internationally renowned and most experienced conductors, will present a choral conductors' workshop.

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See it in HEBREW...  
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# Time to revamp the Acre Festival

## COMMENT

By HELEN KAYE

The Acre Festival of Alternative Theater resembles that ripe old serial melodrama, *The Perils of Pauline*. For two years we've had cliffhangers. Will there or won't there be an Acre Festival? This year is no different, and yes, after months of acrimony, toothless ultimatums and endless discussions, there will be an Acre Festival. It will take place October 5-8 in and around the Crusader fortress of the old city of Acre. There will be 12 plays in the traditional competition. The inclusion of other projects will depend on whether the various productions can cope with the "very limited time left for work," says artistic director Roni Ninio.

The bone of contention was, as usual - money - or to put it more precisely, disbursement of the same. The Acre Festival receives its funding from the Ministry of Education via the Arts and Culture Administration (ACA), and from the Acre Municipality. Budgets are allocated, but the money is rarely paid on time.

This year's row stemmed from last year's disagreement. That started back in June with the resignation of then artistic director Itzik Weingarten, over a missing NIS 750,000, part of which was earmarked to pay the participating theater groups. The artists accused the late Zevulun Hammer, then minister of education, of seeking to destroy the Acre Festival. The same accusation was hurled at the current head of the ACA, Micha Yinon.

Confrontations followed, including a noisy demonstration outside the ministry in Jerusalem on September 12. Bottom line - the festival opened, as scheduled, on October 20.

But trouble started almost immediately, nicely symbolized by empty prize envelopes.

This time blame went to the executive arm of the ACA, a public trust which disbursed ACA funds to various bodies, including the festival. This trust was disbanded last December, leaving the Acre Festival some NIS 700,000 dollars in the hole, including the NIS 250,000 owed to the artists.

The Acre Municipality was responsible for covering half of that deficit and the municipality, it was said, was close to bankruptcy.

Fast forward to May this year when ZOA House director Yoram Kleiner, appointed as head of the Acre Festival, said that unless the NIS 700,000 was paid by the end of the month there would be no festival. The bureaucrats protested that they were doing their best, that there were accounting and legal snafus, that they were working overtime because the Acre Festival was dear to their hearts....

Last week all sides came to a compromise. The Ministry of Education and the Acre Municipality would appoint a public receiver to pay outstanding debts. Acre Festival producer Gad Oron revoked his resignation and Ninio announced the nascent program.

The subjects range from family problems, to the Holocaust, to the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin and other political/national themes; dramatic material that "is simply too interesting," to sacrifice for a principle, Ninio says.

Hopefully this year that will be true, because with too few notable exceptions, the Acre Festival has been a theatrical irrelevancy for at least the past five years. Scrapping the Acre Festival as it stands today would not be a disaster. Leadership is needed to reinvent this festival as a showcase for genuine theatrical excitement, and if it is truly of value to the ACA and its parent ministry, then they are perfectly placed to provide that leadership.

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24 Sales Evaluation	74 Quality Improvement	100 Project Supervision
25 Sales Monitoring	75 Quality Management	
26 Sales Reporting	76 Quality Control	
27 Sales Analysis	77 Quality Assurance	
28 Sales Development	78 Quality Improvement	
29 Sales Strategy	79 Quality Management	
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## An unhealthy report

No one likes criticism, even if it's constructive. But government officials need periodically to hear criticism from a professional, impartial observer - so that shortcomings and injustices can be corrected and waste eradicated.

The Health Ministry bureaucracy was apparently not overjoyed when the National Health Insurance Law, which went into effect in January 1993, stipulated that an ombudsman be appointed to deal with the public's complaints about the new universal health insurance system. In fact, the first ombudsman was appointed two full years after the date set by the law.

Dr. Karny Rubin, a psychiatrist with much experience in the public health system, was appointed Health Ministry ombudsman - but given only meager resources with which to carry out her work. Her first report, issued last week, is packed with life-or-death issues and complaints: residents prevented from getting the health care they deserved; life-saving drugs left out of the basket of health services or tied to such unrealistic conditions that patients' health first had to deteriorate before they could get them; health funds reducing referrals to a minimum; and insurers' representatives who forged signatures to gain new members.

In her 150-page report, Rubin also dishes out strong criticism against the ministry itself for failing to make decisions and urges important changes in the National Health Insurance Law. One such change is the formation of a professional forum to decide what new drugs and technologies should be added to the basket of services, which was set in 1992 and is now becoming obsolete.

But due to inadequate budget, manpower, phone lines, and computers to handle the deluge of 20,132 complaints during 1997, Rubin completed her report in June instead of March of this year, when it was scheduled to appear. As if to underscore this material neglect, the report then lay for a month - unread - on the desks of Health Minister Yehoshua Matza, Director-General Gaby Barabash, and other senior officials. Although the ministry is always busy putting out daily "fires" in the health system, Matza should have found time to read the document - even during his recent flight to France for three days of appearances before Jewish National Fund audiences and two days (one paid for by the JNF) at the World Cup soccer finals.

Although the ombudsman's office is an innovation to be proud of, the ministry took care to

play down Rubin's first report. Reporters were not invited to witness her formal presentation of the volume to Matza, and the ministry spokesman only issued a routine press release in which the minister "promised this report won't be thrown into the waste basket, but studied seriously and all conclusions learned."

The Health Ministry ombudsman will undoubtedly have fewer complaints in 1998 to write about next spring, as all but 1,328 complaints to deal with membership in the "wrong" health fund (of these 1,328, only 27 were found "unjustified" and another 342 "reflected the person's clear and legitimate interest" but were not supported by the National Health Insurance Law). Belatedly, the government helped put a stop to registration abuses with an amendment last December that allows switching to another health fund only after filling out forms in a post office.

Today nearly every Israeli knows which health fund insures them and is able to switch to another without difficulty. Yet, because of the health system's massive deficits - which have already reached NIS 2 billion - the insurers will be tempted to intensify their new penny-pinching practices; sometimes violating the Health Insurance Law and endangering the lives and health of their members. And due to the Health Ministry's built-in conflict of interest - it not only supervises medical services, but also provides them in government hospitals - the ombudsman's supervision will be more necessary than ever before.

In addition to making mid-course corrections in the National Health Insurance Law to make it more workable and equitable, the ministry must give its ombudsman more independence and increase her staff from its current level of 15 workers. (The office of the state ombudsman, which usually deals with more complex complaints than the Health Ministry ombudsman, has 55 lawyers and other professional workers, and deals with about 7,000 files a year.)

If the ministry wanted the public to be uninformed about the contents of its ombudsman's report, it must have been pleased by its near-coverage in the media, with only this paper reporting on it extensively. This is a shame for the Hebrew-reading public, for the reality reflected in the ombudsman's report is troubling: anyone can suddenly fall ill and discover that, even after paying 4.8% of their monthly income in health taxes, they still can't get the treatment and medication they need.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### KEYSTONE COPS

Sir, - Last week, I was in the process of bringing my two-year-old daughter, a cerebral palsy victim, to her therapy session at Alyn Hospital.

I brought down from my apartment her specially constructed (and expensive) chair and shoes, and left them in the parking lot while I returned to fetch her. In the two minutes which this took, a car entered the parking lot, one of its passengers jumped out and stole the equipment, and then drove off before my eyes.

I immediately called the police, supplying them with the license number of the car. The reply was that they could do nothing until I filed a complaint, personally, at the Russian Compound. I was there within 10 minutes to file the complaint, but to date the equipment so vital to my crippled daughter has not been recovered.

This incident raises two pertinent questions. Since my street winds for two miles without any

intersection, the police could easily have set up a roadblock to stop the car. Why was this not done instead of requiring me to travel to the police station and having the thieves escape in the meantime? Secondly, why, despite the fact that the license number was supplied was no action taken to date in retrieving this vital equipment? Someone should remedy this Keystone Cop routine.

SHLOMO FELDMAN  
Jerusalem.

### MKS' PROMISE

deliberations on this bill. The extent of the controversy however, caused the decision that this "experiment" be reduced to one year.

Metuna members were in the Knesset prior to the reading and lobbied at least 30 MKs from across the political spectrum, many of whom said that they would vote against the bill. One hour later, although present in the building, not one turned up for the voting.

The bill passed with 15 votes in

favor and one abstention. This was a chastening experience for us and proves that: a) deaths on Israel's roads is a non-issue for MKs and b) that a promise from an MK is like "piecrust."

This would not have been the case in a parliamentary democracy where representatives are accountable.

IVAN POPE  
National Chairman, Metuna Netanya.

### TAKE HIS OWN ADVICE

Sir, - I was very impressed with Jonathan Rosenblum's article "A mitzvah for everyone" (July 24), in which he condemns causeless hatred. He writes, "Those who are always critical and quick to notice other's faults embitter their lives and the lives of everyone around them, whereas the wise are eager to find the good in others."

I completely concur with his new sentiment. However, it is ironic that such words should come from the Rosenblum's pen. He has been a constantly hostile fault finder of Conservative Judaism and a disparager of all who are not Orthodox. He is a prime example of the behavior of "needless

hatred."

I suggest that Rosenblum heed his own admonition.

RABBI SAUL TEPLITZ  
Past president of the Rabbinical Assembly.  
(International Organization of Conservative Rabbis).  
Jerusalem.

## FROM OUR ARCHIVES

65 years ago: On August 3, 1933, *The Palestine Post* reported the official publication of the new immigration ordinance which defined the meanings of "dependant," "foreigner," and "traveler" and reserved for the High Commissioner the right to disqualify unsuitable persons and deport anyone who was not a Palestine citizen.

1948, *The Palestine Post* reported massive Arab violations of the cease-fire. Arab sniping continued in Jerusalem claiming casualties. An urgent appeal to save 900,000 Jews living in constant danger in Arab countries was made by Mr. Eliahu Eliahar, president of the Sephardic community in Jerusalem. Jews were being arrested, interned and forced to make vast contributions for war against Israel.

25 years ago: On August 3, 1973, *The Jerusalem Post* reported that the prime minister, Golda Meir, had stepped in to settle the ongoing dispute between Defense Minister Moshe Dayan and the rest of the Labor Party leadership on the future policy in the territories, their development, the intensified settlement and an outline of the refugees' rehabilitation program.

Alexander Zvielli

## OPINION

# Main lesson

YOSEF GOELL

On Tisha Be'av yesterday, Orthodox Jews fasted to commemorate and bemoan the destruction of the First and Second Temples of Jerusalem in the sixth century BCE and the first century CE, respectively.

Jonathan Rosenblum, in "Happy Tisha Be'av," used these columns last Friday to exhort Reform Judaism of the 19th century for seeking to turn the day of mourning into a celebration of the destruction of the Temple's "pagan, ritualistic, blood cult."

I am neither Reform nor, thank God, Orthodox, but a card-carrying apikoros interested in learning whatever is relevant from our long Jewish history.

As such, I fully identify with the modern Reform abhorrence at any association with the ancient cult of slaughtering hundreds of thousands of cattle a year to propitiate a tribal god. But I also agree with my hard-core colleague that if the Reform are to be at all consistent, they should also dissociate themselves from the equally pagan worship of stones: the current cult of the Western Wall.

Millennia-old Jewish Orthodoxy's insistence on mourning the destruction of both Temples on Tisha Be'av was undoubtedly a strong contributing factor towards the eventual secular return to Zion this century. But it should also be remembered that when the final push for that return came, the vast majority of the Orthodox and their rabbinical leadership fought the Zionist "heresy," and later the State of Israel, tooth and nail.

To my mind, continuing to mark Tisha Be'av as a day of mourning following the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, and all the more so after the reunification of Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty in 1967, is an anachronism.

The heredi insistence on continuing the earlier mourning practices is fully consistent with their continued opposition to Zionism as a heresy. But Tisha Be'av should hold important historical lessons for the rest of us, who reject that anti-Zionist stance.

The First Temple was

destroyed by the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar, and the people exiled to Mesopotamia, because the Judean political leaders guessed wrong in choosing between the Babylonian and Egyptian regional superpowers of the day.

The prophet Jeremiah, author of the Book of Lamentations, was against the alliance with Egypt. But the evidence seems to be that the feeling that the Israelite God would always be with his people was interpreted to mean that their leaders could not make fatal mistakes in the regional power politics of the day.

The Talmud meanwhile made much of the internecine wars of the Jews as a factor which made it impossible to resist the Romans effectively six-and-a-half centuries later.

The truth is that the decision to revolt against Rome was the cardinal mistake. And much more traumatic than the destruction of the Temple was the mistaken decision to rise up against Rome once again in 135 AD under Bar-Kochba, who was declared to be the long-awaited messiah by no less than Rabbi Akiva.

THE main lesson to be learned from these ancient historical cases is that a small people - like the Jews - must learn to bring forth highly intelligent political leaders, capable of reading political reality correctly and reacting in nuanced fashion.

Permitting zealots, priests and other irrational elements to influence life-and-death political decisions can be nothing less than suicidal. It is a good reminder for today when heredi rabbis, including Ovadia Yosef seek to interfere in today's political process by ruling that no negotiations with the goyim should be conducted in the first nine days of Av.

In a broader historical perspective, however, the double Tisha Be'av calamities should be seen through the lens of the Samsonite riddle "from out of the feral came forth the sweet" (Judges 14:14).

# Dry Bones



The small minority of exiled Jews who began to struggle back to Jerusalem three generations after the destruction of the First Temple, brought back a vastly more sophisticated religious culture than the primitive religion and tribal war god of the First Kingdom.

Apparently under the influence of the religions of the east the Judean exiles encountered, the Judaism of the Second Temple period was marked by a universal message and God, a concept of a messiah who would redeem all of mankind and a reverence for a body of sacred scriptures.

The revolution in Jewish religious culture after the destruction of the Second Temple was even more dramatic. The pagan cult of animal sacrifices was replaced by the revolutionary institution of a synagogue, and of intellectual rabbinical inter-

preters of the sacred texts as a guide-line to Jewish communal life.

Today's Orthodox Jews, who are the perpetrators of the synagogue and the Oral Law, must be out of their minds to entertain thoughts of restoring the ancient temple and its animal sacrifices.

Tisha Be'av marks not only the physical destruction of the two Temples but the onset of the remarkable revolutions in Jewish history which they ushered in.

We are today living in similar revolutionary times, marked by the impact of the modern world on Jewish life and the reestablishment of Jewish sovereignty in this land.

It is a shame that our rabbis have shown themselves incapable of rising to the challenge of this revolution to bring about a major and long overdue adaptation of Jewish civilization.

# Arguments don't stop missiles

ANGELO M. CODEVILLA

Two sets of arguments have recently entered Israel's vigorous debate on missile defense. The first, introduced by Lt. Gen. Lester Lyles, director of the US Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, is that Israelis don't have to worry about the new Iranian missiles or the great quantity of Syrian missiles. This, he says, is because the US is committed to fielding two separate systems for destroying enemy missiles during boost phase, so that they will fall back on the countries that fired them. But many Israelis believe that for Israel to defend itself against emerging missile threats, the country needs the kind of help from the United States that Washington cannot give so long as it abides by the US-Soviet ABM treaty of 1972.

Consequently, they are tempted to press the US Congress to reverse the Clinton administration's adherence to that treaty. Lyles recently came to Israel on behalf of the administration to persuade Israelis they do not have to do this. Unfortunately, his argument is false.

The second argument, advanced by various Israeli politicians friendly to the Clinton administration, is that any effort by Israelis to press the US Congress to scrap the ABM treaty would help Clinton's domestic conservative opponents. This argument is true, though the implication that Clinton's political health is good for Israel is debatable.

What is beyond debate, however, is that the acceptance of either or both arguments will leave Israelis absolutely and completely at the mercy of the missiles now being

mass produced in neighboring countries. Let us look more closely at these arguments.

In his visit to Israel last month, Lyles touted two systems, one of which became a laughingstock in American four years ago, and another that is well on its way to becoming one.

The first is called Boost Phase Intercept (BPI). Boost phase intercept is the most important means of missile defense available, but this version of it is a mockery of the concept. It is a very low level, conceptual study of the possibility of sending dozens of pilotless aircraft, loaded with anti-missile interceptors, to fly patterns very near enemy missile launch sites. When the missiles are launched, the system would shoot them down.

BPI was laughed out of Congress for the following reasons:

- The logistics of keeping substantial numbers of aircraft in the air for indeterminate periods of time are quite literally impossible.
- Since missiles are mobile, no one really knows where launch sites are.

- No large aircraft that flies patterns for a long time over enemy territory can escape detection.

- It is impossible to defend aircraft over enemy territory for indeterminate periods of time. Consequently, I do not know of any American who takes seriously the proposition that Israel or anyplace else might ever be defended by BPI.

The second system is the Airborne Laser (ABL). After

Congress shot down BPI, the Clinton administration committed a lot of money to developing a laser gun that could be put on a Boeing 747 aircraft that would fly near enough to enemy territory to shoot down missiles as they are launched.

Until recently, the ABL program was protected by general ignorance of laser weaponry. But nowadays anyone who reads the 1997 US General Accounting Office report or the 1998 US Senate Armed Services Committee report on the ABL can find out the following:

- Because atmospheric interference is an insoluble problem, the reliable range of the ABL's laser gun is far less than the range of enemy air defenses. Therefore, the ABL cannot expect to operate undefended.

- It is impossible to defend an aircraft near enemy territory for indeterminate periods of time. That is why Congress cut \$100 million from the ABL this fiscal year and why the ABL is headed for the same fate as BPI.

Israelis need not wonder that Lyles condescended to them. Last November, as he carried similarly deceptive messages on missile matters to Congress, the chairman of the R&D subcommittee, Congressman Curt Weldon, had him removed from the Hearing Room. According to press reports, Weldon called him "a liar."

SO why does the Clinton administration work so hard for the acceptance of anti-missile programs it knows will not work?

Mainly because it, and what remains of the American Left, are committed to the 1960s notion that defending against missiles provokes attack.

That is why the administration has declared that it considers the ABM treaty, which bans missile defenses, to be the cornerstone of American foreign policy. Clinton being Clinton, however, has tried to pretend that he is not totally against protecting people from missiles. That is why he is so willing to spend money to put interceptor rockets or lasers on aircraft, or to build ground based interceptor systems that are not connected to satellites.

There is a fight in America among Americans over whether to choose missile defense or the ABM treaty. Clinton is on the side of the ABM treaty, which effectively prohibits defending not only America, but Israel as well.

Since many Israelis have historic political kinship with the US Democratic Party, it is understandable they might feel some affection for Bill Clinton. Nevertheless, one is at a loss to understand why, among so many Israeli politicians, that affection goes so far as to choose the side in this US internal battle, whose success would guarantee that the next set of Arab missiles launched against Israel will do their intended work.

The writer is director of strategic research at the Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies in Jerusalem and Washington, DC.

# Taking responsibility

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

Not in the United States. This is the land of the Twinkie defense, wherein the killer of San Francisco Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk claimed extenuation on the grounds that he'd been unbalanced by the consumption of too much junk food. (It worked! He got off with manslaughter.)

This is the land of Peter Arnett, star reporter. He lead-reports a TV special and co-signs a magazine article charging American soldiers with war crimes. Then, when the story is exposed as false, he claims he "contributed not one comma" to it. Declaring himself, in essence, not a liar, just a fraud, he escapes with his job.

The American norm is represented by Janet Reno. Testifying on the Waco fiasco that cost 85 mostly innocent lives, she declared that she took full responsibility - with no consequence to her: no resignation, no demotion, not even a reprimand.

On the contrary. She received plaudits in the press for her candor. (Candor? She'd given the order to attack. She could hardly deny that.)

IT is not like that everywhere. Who can forget the sight of the head of Japan Airlines bowing humbly, abjectly, before relatives of victims just hours after a JAL crash? Or John Profumo, the British war secretary caught in a sex scandal in the early 1960s. He resigned and then, instead of attacking the establishment for grotesque hypocrisy, quietly became a social worker, putting in decades of service performed several social strata below that from which he had fallen. That's atonement.

How ironic that on the same day Hashimoto fell so honorably on his sword, it took an American jury - and 10 years - to finally pin responsibility on Al Sharpton and two other hucksters for defaming a man they had falsely accused of having raped Tawana Brawley.

The Brawley story had long ago been exposed as a hoax. But Sharpton not only refused to recant, let alone apologize, he carried his brazen campaign against Steven Pagones right to the end. During that decade of defiance, moreover, Sharpton's public standing rose, as

he was elevated from street agitator to political power broker.

The Sharpton case points out the curious way we make up for the American reluctance to fess up: We call in the lawyers. We summon judge and jury. We contrive a whole bureaucracy of adjudication to extract the truth. (And even that does not always work: See Twinkie, above. See O.J.) We create special prosecutors by the legion.

The law is a poor substitute for a forthright admission of wrongdoing. But it does expose a Sharpton. And it does get us beyond the dodges of "mistakes were made" (Ronald Reagan) or "no controlling legal authority" (Al Gore).

America, where the shirkin' comes easy, is the land of second acts. To be sure, this refusal to brand people forever for their sins is attractively forgiving.

And it contributes to the fluidity and dynamism of American life. But it has its dark side. It makes for carelessness, moral carelessness. You can't help but admire a man who stands up and says, "I did it. I'm sorry. I'm gone. Pass the dishrag."

(Washington Post Writers Group)

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# Weekly Review

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## Big Deal

### The Lewinsky Legacy (If There Is One)

By JOHN M. BRODER

**N**O less an authority on Watergate than Richard M. Nixon proclaimed President Clinton's Whitewater affair more grave than the scandal that ended Mr. Nixon's Presidency and ruined his reputation.

"Can you believe it?" Mr. Nixon said to Monica Crowley, the young researcher who chronicled his thoughts in the final years of his life. "They said it's nothing like Watergate. I say it's worse. In Watergate, we didn't have profiteering, and we didn't have a body." He was referring to the 1993 suicide of Vincent W. Foster Jr., Mr. Clinton's close friend and deputy White House counsel.

Mr. Nixon's comment came in April 1994, nine days before his death — and four years before the appearance of the telltale dress, the talking points and the Tripp tapes.

By the end of last week, the Whitewater scandal of which Mr. Nixon spoke had completed its transformation from a musty investigation of an Ozarks land deal into a 24-hour national soap opera. Monica S. Lewinsky agreed to tell prosecutors about her relationship with the President, and to give an account of a December meeting in which the two agreed to deny a sexual relationship. And Mr. Clinton agreed, after months of resistance, to testify on videotape in a criminal inquiry, making him the first sitting President to appear before a grand jury investigating his conduct.

Suddenly Mr. Nixon's assessment, which seemed so quirkily self-serving in the context of Arkansas real estate, is Washington's conventional wisdom.

The columnist George Will declared Mr. Clinton's behavior "more menacing to the civic culture" than Watergate because Mr. Clinton had enlisted the public as co-conspirators by repeatedly asking them to believe the unbelievable. Corruption of the public, Mr. Will said, is worse than abuse of governmental institutions.

The author William J. Bennett — brother of the President's lawyer, Robert S. Bennett — said Mr. Clinton's scandals were "worse than Watergate" because they belittled the Presidency and rendered the public insensate to immorality.

Mr. Will and Mr. Bennett are both long-time conservative critics of Mr. Clinton, so perhaps their comments are predictable. But commentators from all parts of the political and ideological spectrum are predicting that the Lewinsky matter will have lasting consequences as Watergate did, not only for this President but for the Presidency and for the nation.

And maybe it will, though it's worth stopping for a minute to note that nobody has a clue yet what even the short-term consequences for Mr. Clinton will be.

But there is another way to compare Watergate and Whitewater. While the former did have large and lasting effects, it is easy to imagine that the latter will not.

Watergate, the benchmark scandal for this generation, did more than bring down a President. It brought to Washington a Con-

gressional class of young, reform-minded Democrats who delayed Republican ascendancy for 20 years. It deepened the Vietnam-era public distrust of Government. And it spawned legislation meant to curb the influence on money on politics and created the office of the independent counsel now occupied by Kenneth W. Starr, among others.

Many scholars and political observers say Mr. Clinton's troubles — however they are resolved — will not have profound effects like Watergate, which diminished the power and moral authority of the Presidency and changed the way Americans viewed their leaders.

These are some of the effects commentators have predicted for the Clinton scandals, and some of the counter-arguments.

#### The Crippled Presidency Theory

Mr. Clinton inherited a Presidency that had been downsized by Watergate and the end of the cold war. He further diminished the office with a deliberate attempt to lower the public's expectations of what its occupant could accomplish. Two years ago he declared the end of the era of big government and embarked upon a program of bite-sized policy initiatives.

The Lewinsky matter contributed to the diminution of the Presidency, as Jay Leno and David Letterman supplanted political scientists as the public interpreters of the nation's highest office.

But quite apart from the current investigative frenzy, Mr. Clinton has given little indication that he intends to try to accomplish big things in his remaining 29 months in office. With a hostile and divided Congress and a complacent public, his space for political maneuver would be limited, even if he commanded broad public respect. While nearly 70 percent of the public approves of the job he is doing, 56 percent don't like or trust him as a person, according to a recent poll by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press.

"There will always be ups and downs in the prestige of the Presidency," said Alonzo Hamby, a Presidential scholar at Ohio University. "Some Presidents will bring more authority and credit to the office than others. It's sort of a shame in this case. We started out with this obviously intelligent, engaging, interesting younger President and now we've come to be talking about how good he is at ceremonial occasions and projecting empathy."

#### The Not-So-Splendid Isolation Theory

White House aides and sympathetic legal authorities say Whitewater could inflict lasting damage to the Presidency by increasing the isolation of the office. Courts have ruled decisively against Mr. Clinton's claims of privilege for conversations with political advisers and in-house lawyers. An

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Paul Bonaventura/The New York Times

#### Contagion Effect

### A Guide to the Modern Domino Theory

By DAVID E. SANGER

**I**N another era, the domino theory was used to justify why America was risking lives in Southeast Asia and other battlefields of the cold war. Lose one country to Communism, and others would fall. Historians will long argue whether the theory was right, or a politically convenient fiction. But few were willing to

gamble on finding out, until the threshold of national pain became too great in the rice paddies of Vietnam.

For a year now the domino theory has been making a comeback, this time paired with the newest buzzword in foreign policy: Contagion. The general idea is the same — if one country's economy is permitted to implode, it could start an uncontrollable set of events around the world — even if it has less to do with guns and Communists than with currency reserves and the psychology of panicked investors. "The financial domino theory has actually proven more accurate than the

national security domino theory," Lawrence H. Summers, the Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, mused in his office last week. "Vietnam fell and other countries didn't. But you saw what happened after Thailand," the ground zero of the Asian meltdown.

The result is a significant shift in the way some in Washington look at how the world is woven together. Before the Mexican peso crisis in late 1994, only economists talked about "financial contagion." Now it is the throwaway phrase of dozens of daily headlines. Like any fast-spreading disease, it now comes in many varieties:

There is market contagion, export contagion, yen contagion, and now even reverse contagion, which is akin to giving the flu to children and then catching it from them all over again.

Diplomats who were comfortable with the old cold war dominoes now stuff their speeches with speculation about contagion's political impact. Last week Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright cautioned that the political impact was just beginning to be felt. "Misery," she

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#### Lavender Haze

The risky politics  
of homosexuality.

By Richard L.  
Berke



#### Paranoia and Culture

Mental illness is universal.  
Its symptoms aren't.

By Joe  
Sharkey

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#### Eastern Front

Russians don't need a movie  
to see the horror of war.

By Michael  
Wines

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# The Nation



John Halsey, a union member, picketed a G.M. plant in Dayton, Ohio, in 1996.

## Strike Force

# The Relentless March Of Labor's True Foe

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE

**T**HE 54-day General Motors strike erupted over local issues, like the auto maker's push to speed up work at a plant in Flint, Mich., but the strike shared a theme with walkouts as far away as Denmark and South Korea. Underlying these strikes and others is labor's push to resist what many economists say is an irresistible force: globalization, which opens markets to fierce competition. Globalization has pushed G.M. and other companies to reduce costs, and has created downward pressures on wages in wealthy countries. It has pushed companies to downsize, transfer jobs overseas and press their workers to produce more.

It was G.M.'s effort to take many of these steps — to speed up production and to transfer work to low-wage Mexican factories — that precipitated the strike, which was settled last Tuesday after paralyzing production and idling 190,000 workers.

Labor leaders say they are trying to slow — and possibly even tame — globalization, to make it less hostile to workers, and limit, for example, the exportation of jobs. But many economists say unions can neither slow nor stop globalization, a trend in which the economies of the world are growing ever closer and competition keener.

"I think they're fighting history," said Clyde Prestowitz, president of the Economic Strategy Institute, a Washington-based research group. "It's partly a doomed ef-

**By trying to tame globalization, unions may do the opposite.**

fort to preserve an old way of life that's not preservable."

Also, the G.M. strike and other anti-globalization actions may backfire by provoking companies to accelerate plans to export jobs so they can minimize their dealings with truculent unions.

The G.M. strike can backfire in other ways. With the dealers complaining that their lots are depleted, sales of G.M. cars are expected to fall, and the consequent loss in market share will pressure the auto maker to close more plants and lay off more workers.

Some Wall Street analysts predict that G.M., frustrated by the union's resistance to cost-cutting measures at individual plants, will simply close several plants altogether to slash costs.

Bruce Josten, executive vice president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, said unions were often short-sighted in fighting efforts, like G.M.'s, to cut costs in the face of global competition. "General Motors management has to do what it's doing, as painful as it is, and bite the bullet now," Mr. Josten said. "If they don't do that now, G.M.'s market share will diminish."

ish. It will become increasingly less competitive and ultimately there will be fewer G.M. employees due to layoffs."

But labor unions are stepping up their battle against globalization. In California, the nation's largest apparel union has protested Guess's decision to move jeans production to Mexico.

In South Korea, workers staged a rash of strikes, angry that foreign pressure to open markets and to stop subsidizing industry is undermining their job security. In Denmark two months ago, 500,000 workers struck after employers resisted demands for six weeks of vacation, saying they could not afford it because of foreign competition.

## Shaping History

Labor leaders acknowledge it is impossible to halt globalization, saying their goal is to transform it into a less harmful force.

"Trade unions are trying to shape history, not reverse it," said David A. Smith, director of public policy for the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

"We're not going to put the globalization genie back in the bottle," Mr. Smith said. "Whether it's workers in Flint or workers in Seoul, people are wrestling with the question of, 'How are we in this moment of epochal change going to make this work for working people?'"

The unions argue that corporations gain too many of the benefits of untamed globalization, fattening profits while squeezing wages and encouraging downsizing. And they say they are fighting for all workers, not just for union members.

"History will show you that wherever there have been strong trade unions, there has been a fairer distribution of the wealth created," said Bill Jordan, general secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, a coalition of unions from 141 countries.

Many economists say globalization is boosting not just corporations but the world at large by helping hold down prices, by pressuring industry to increase efficiency and by making more inexpensive products available to consumers.

And, economists point out, globalization sometimes helps push wages up, not down. Boeing and Microsoft, for example, can pay high salaries partly because of the immense foreign demand for their products.

Still, concerned that globalization could prove the great downward leveler of wages, union leaders often state that their goal is "upward leveling" — to improve wages and working conditions abroad.

Last November, when American unions pressured Congress to shelve legislation to extend free trade to other nations, labor was often branded as protectionist.

But unions defended themselves, saying they would go along with the legislation as long as new trade agreements guaranteed labor and environmental rights.

"If you raise labor standards in low-wage countries, that's good for them and it's good for us," said Frank Borger, a professor of labor relations at the University of Massachusetts. "It would slow the exodus of jobs."

# Chasing the Polls On Gay Rights

By RICHARD L. BERKE

**S**ENATOR TRENT LOTT, the Republican leader, sounded harsh when he likened homosexuality to kleptomania and alcoholism. But through a prism of pragmatic politics, his comments seemed to make sense: The latest Gallup Poll shows that 59 percent of Americans say that homosexual behavior is morally wrong. In his own party, Mr. Lott played to a particularly receptive audience because Republicans are far less accepting of homosexuality than Democrats.

Given the pounding President Clinton took in 1993 when he tried to overturn the ban on homosexuals in the military, he, too, seemed to be asking for trouble recently when he issued an executive order barring Federal agencies from discriminating against homosexuals. But Mr. Clinton's move may have been shrewd as well: The most pronounced shift in attitudes toward homosexuals in recent years has been a steady increase in support for equal rights in employment, housing and job protections. A survey by the President's pollsters, released last week by the Human Rights Campaign, a gay group, showed that 70 percent of Americans support Mr. Clinton's order.

Public opinion about homosexuals is so fluid, and often so seemingly contradictory, that it can be treacherous for any politician to take a stand on anything related to homosexuality. For years Democrats and Republicans have been skittish about the issue, and not only because many people are uncomfortable about delving into private lives. Attitudes toward homosexuality are so complex that they cannot easily be transformed into yes or no party platforms.

The subject has been so verboten that it was considered a triumph for homosexual organizations when, early in Mr. Clinton's first term, the White House released a photograph of the President meeting with leaders of the groups.

## Ads About 'Reforming'

But now, homosexuality has sprung to the lead of political dialogue on more fronts than ever. Last week, the House approved a measure that would deny Federal housing money to San Francisco because of its support of homosexual partners; a measure, also passed, would take \$21 million from housing programs for people with AIDS and give it to veterans. The House will also consider a measure that would deny Federal money to carry out Mr. Clinton's order regarding gay Federal employees. And Republicans have succeeded in blocking the nomination of a wealthy gay contributor, James C. Hormel, as ambassador to Luxembourg. The debate intensified when conservative groups began running full-page newspaper advertisements featuring "reformed" homosexuals.

Homosexual groups responded with their own advertisements, including one that featured smiling Republican parents and their lesbian daughter.

Democrats, too, are becoming more visible on gay issues. Mr. Clinton was the guest of honor at a fund-raising event Saturday in East Hampton sponsored by gay Democrats. Vice President Al Gore and Representative Richard Gephardt, the Democratic leader, are increasingly willing to back gay issues. Mr. Gore will be the featured speaker in

**Politicians think they know the public mood on homosexuality...**

September at the annual dinner of the Human Rights Campaign. And five openly gay Democrats are running for Congress this year, a record number.

For both parties, the debate is intended to bring out voters on the fringes next November. Surveys show that the most conservative Republicans are particularly uncomfortable with homosexuality, just as the most liberal Democrats are most likely to embrace gay rights. But a deeper explanation is that with the increasing aggressiveness of the gay political movement and the greater visibility of gays in pop culture, there is an assumption that tolerance is on the rise.

"We are talking about these issues as Americans as we never have before," said Richard Socarides, a senior White House adviser who is the principal liaison on gay issues. "I'm sure that the changes in public opinion are quite frightening to conservatives — but they're irreversible."

## Wishful Thinking

That may be wishful thinking. While attitudes seem, slowly, to be drifting toward acceptance, the consensus is that most people still do not approve of homosexuality.

"The contradiction is that Americans are strongly in favor of equal opportunities — even for a situation they don't necessarily approve of," said Frank Newport, the editor of the Gallup Poll.

As an example, the proportion of Americans who think homosexuals should be hired as elementary school teachers has steadily increased, to 55 percent in 1996 from 27 percent in 1977, according to the Gallup Poll. But there is still a sizable proportion who do not want homosexuals teaching elementary students. And in the view of many Americans, homosexual behavior is now more acceptable than adultery. But people still lump the two in the same category.

Survey after survey shows a generational

divide. Seven out of 10 people who are 65 and older say homosexual behavior is wrong, according to the Gallup Poll; only five out of 10 who are between 18 and 29 have that view. While a recent Gallup Poll found that more people think homosexuality is a product of environment and upbringing rather than a biological trait, more and more Americans think homosexuality is not a choice.

Because attitudes toward homosexuals are evolving, politicians can draw the wrong conclusions from poll findings that seem to back their views. The proliferation of AIDS made the public less sympathetic toward homosexuals in the 1980's, but by the time of Mr. Clinton's election in 1992, tolerance had increased immensely. But Mr. Clinton may have mistakenly concluded that an increase in support for gay rights meant that people would support homosexuals in the military. They did not.

Mr. Clinton was more mindful of the polls in his re-election campaign, when he signed a bill that opposed gay marriages. The move enraged homosexual organizations but was intended to help him rebuild good will with conservative Democrats. Politically, it was a no-lose position because even most Democrats who believe homosexual behavior is morally acceptable do not believe that homosexuals should be allowed to marry.

**... but surveys show that attitudes are hard to pin down.**

Republicans are now finding that despite public discomfort with homosexuality, sharp oratory may not be welcome either. Some are now distancing themselves from Mr. Lott's comments, fearing they could make the party appear intolerant and carry a political toll in November.

"I don't think it helps to have public leaders engaged in that kind of dialogue," Speaker Newt Gingrich said. Gary Bauer, a prominent conservative who heads the Family Research Council said he wished the debate would focus on policy matters like gay adoptions (which polls show most Americans do not favor) — not on whether homosexuality is a sin. But he also said, "On the sin issue, I don't want to undercut Trent in any way." Ed Goetz, a Republican pollster, said he did not share the view of some Republicans that criticism of homosexuals by people like Mr. Bauer made his party appear insensitive. He said he worried more about Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato of New York, who as part of his aggressive courtship of gay voters has condemned many of his fellow Republicans.

"Someone like D'Amato saying we're intolerant hurts us far more than anything Gary Bauer says," Mr. Goetz said, "because it plays into the label of intolerance."

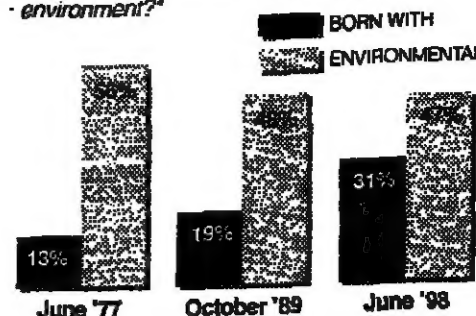
That Republicans are even debating how not to appear intolerant is perhaps the best evidence of how the perception of public attitudes toward homosexuals has evolved.

## More Tolerant, But Still Disapproving

Americans are more tolerant toward homosexuals than they were 25 years ago, but overall do not approve of homosexuality.

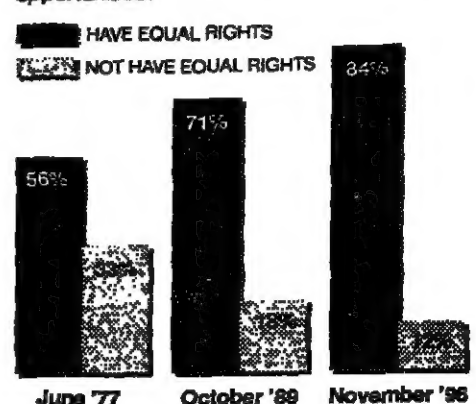
A growing number of Americans believe that nature is more important than nurture in determining homosexuality...

In your view, is homosexuality something a person is born with or is homosexuality due to other factors such as upbringing or environment?



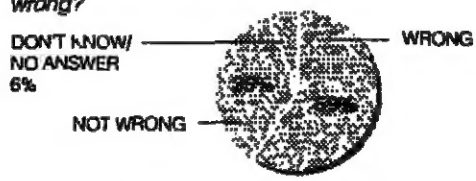
... and also believe homosexuals should have equal job opportunities.

In general, do you think homosexuals should or should not have equal rights in terms of job opportunities?



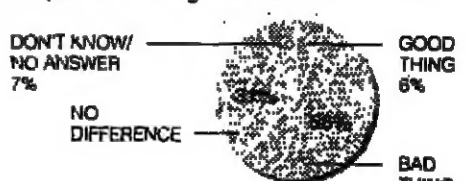
But a poll conducted in June found most Americans believe homosexuality is morally wrong...

Do you personally believe homosexual behavior is morally wrong or is not morally wrong?



... and a June 1997 poll found most Americans do not believe homosexual couples should raise children.

Is it generally a good thing for our society or a bad thing for our society or doesn't it make much difference that more gay and lesbian couples are raising children?



\*Figures do not include replies indicating both causes, no cause or no opinion.

Sources: Gallup Organization (first three questions), Princeton Survey Research Associates for the Pew Research Center March 1997 (fourth question)

The New York Times



Boston's 28th annual Gay Pride Parade, with 60 floats, was held on July 11.

بكتا من الامم



# The Nation

## In the Census Battle, It's Politics vs. Logic

By STEVEN A. HOLMES

FOR years, Thomas P. O'Neill's famous dictum that all politics is local has been gospel in this capital, believed in the soul, repeated early and often. But Tip O'Neill hadn't seen this year's fight over statistical sampling to augment the 2000 Census and to account for those who are generally missed by traditional head-counting methods.

As if defying the laws of politics — and some might even say logic — the pitched battle over what seems an arcane subject has not been marked by the regional divisions that normally define fights over how to count the country's population.

Instead, the current imbroglio has been a purely partisan affair, so much so that some of the principals seem to be putting party loyalty above the interests of their state or region. Republicans are fighting — and Democrats are staunchly supporting — the Census Bureau's plans to use statistical sampling even though there is evidence that the states that will be helped the most by sampling will be the strongholds of their own party.

### Head Counts and Estimates

The proposed methodology is straightforward. The Census Bureau plans to count at least 90 percent of all households in every census tract — neighborhoods of roughly 1,700 dwellings. The results of that large "sample" will be used to estimate the number and characteristics of the people in the remaining 10 percent. To provide a quality check, statisticians will compare their estimates with the result of a national survey of

750,000 households.

But if the method seems clearcut, the lineups for and against sampling seem bizarre.

If the 1990 census had been adjusted using sampling methods, Georgia's population would have been boosted by about 300,000. Some demographers feel the same result would probably happen in 2000. Yet sampling is opposed by all the members of the state's Republican delegation, including Speaker Newt Gingrich, who has filed suit in Federal court to have the Census Bureau's plans declared unconstitutional.

A 1997 study by the Congressional Research Service suggests that if the Census Bureau does not use sampling in 2000, Mississippi could lose a Congressional seat. Yet, the technique is vigorously opposed by the Senate majority leader, Trent Lott of Mississippi.

### Officials seem to be arguing against their constituents' interests.

"No one is served well by having some computer in Washington guess how many people live in Buckatanna, Mississippi," Mr. Lott's spokesman said.

Democratic proponents of sampling exhibit their own incongruities. A study by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies indicates that some of the states with the most to lose from sampling are Ohio, Michigan, Massachusetts and Missouri. But some of the staunchest proponents of the method are people like Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, the house minority leader, and Representative Thomas C. Sawyer of Ohio.

"I do think that everybody on both sides of the aisle ought to look closer at what sampling might do to their respective states," said Gov. Tom Ridge of Pennsylvania, a sampling opponent who was the ranking

Republican on the House committee that oversaw the 1990 census. "Some people favor sampling. But, if their numbers go up a little bit because of sampling, and the numbers go up substantially in other states, they may lose."

### Fighting Yesterday's War

An explanation for the positions might be that politicians, like generals, are fighting an old war. Like many issues where race is involved — and it is minorities who are disproportionately undercounted — the assumption is that it is a problem of blacks in northern cities.

In fact, the 1990 census showed that the undercount was becoming more an issue for the Sun Belt, a sign of how the South and West are being transformed by the influx of Latino immigrants.

"There was a real change from where the undercount was in 1990 from where it was in 1980," said Paula Duggan, a senior policy analyst for the Northeast-Midwest Institute, a research center for Northern lawmakers.

But ignorance of the country's demographic shifts is not the whole answer for the sharp partisanship that characterizes the current debate over sampling.

After the 1990 census many Sun Belt lawmakers, both Republicans and Democrats, were well aware of how their states would be short-changed in the allocation of Federal funds. They pleaded with the Bush Administration to adjust the population count upward based on numbers that had been derived through sampling.

Republicans now argue that they merely want a more accurate count when the data are used for disbursing Federal funds. But, they say, the use of sampling to apportion seats in the House and draw Congressional districts is illegal and could be manipulated for partisan advantage.

"You're allocating representation in Congress, where there are always winners and losers, which is much more fundamental than money," said Senator Phil Gramm, a Texas Republican who opposes sampling.

Indeed, the current political dynamic may

### Voting the Party Line Against Local Interests

The Census Bureau's plans to use statistical sampling to adjust population counts have provoked a partisan fight that at times defies regional interests. Broadly, Republicans are fighting the move and Democrats are supporting it; that can create an apparent conflict when a particular Republican politician represents a region that would benefit from the change, and vice versa.

#### WINNERS

States whose population count would grow if sampling were used, but whose Republican representatives oppose it.

FLORIDA  
Senator  
Connie  
Mack  
and  
House  
Republicans.



MISSISSIPPI  
Trent  
Lott,  
Senate  
majority  
leader.



GEORGIA  
Speaker  
Newt  
Gingrich  
has filed  
a suit  
claiming any  
adjustment is  
unconstitutional.



TEXAS  
Senator  
Phil  
Gramm  
and  
Dick  
Armey,  
House  
majority  
leader



#### LOSERS

States whose population count would probably shrink, but whose Democratic representatives would still vote for the adjustment.

ILLINOIS  
Senator  
Carol  
Moseley-  
Braun.



OHIO  
Senator  
John  
Glenn  
and



MASSACHUSETTS  
Senator  
Edward  
M.  
Kennedy.



Representative  
Thomas C. Sawyer,  
one of the main  
proponents of the  
move.

black undercount or a Hispanic undercount?" Mr. Bositis said.

And with the Republicans holding a thin majority of 11 seats in the House, there may be a palpable fear that anything, including sampling, might cause them to lose power. After all, holding onto the chairmanship of a Congressional committee that decides which Federal programs are financed is probably more politically compelling than getting a few million additional dollars through funding formulas based on population counts.

be pushing both parties toward positions on sampling that may be against their own regional or state interests.

Because such a large proportion of those who are missed by traditional counting methods are minorities, some analysts say, the Democratic Party, whose statewide and national candidates depend on black and Hispanic voters, have little or no choice but to support sampling.

"Could you imagine what would happen if the Democrats said we don't care if there is a

### Delusions

## Paranoia Is Universal. Its Symptoms Are Not.

By JOE SHARKEY

A DERANGED man who believes that the Central Intelligence Agency and other secret Government forces are conspiring to control his mind goes on a rampage, and innocent people die.

Lashing out in an explosion of paranoia, this figure has become an American archetype. By the time a gunman barged into the Capitol on July 24, killing two police officers and wounding a tourist, the figure was so familiar that the suspect, Russell E. Weston Jr., might have been wearing a sign around his neck: loner, with delusions of government persecution. Diagnostic history: paranoid schizophrenia.

The usual discussions ensued about the clinical nature of schizophrenia, which medical science has concluded is a biological disease of the brain. But little attention was paid to the cultural dimension of the ailment.

### Few Suspects

Other countries produce terrorists and murderous psychopaths, but experts say the United States clearly leads the world in the production of deranged people with paranoid delusions who commit public acts of violence — individuals like Timothy J. McVeigh, who killed 168 people when he blew up a Federal building in Oklahoma in 1995, and who believed that the military had secretly implanted a computer chip in his buttocks.

Why do so many of these paranoid schizophrenics focus their delusions on the same few suspects: the C.I.A., the President and other Federal agents?

"A strain of paranoia has always been just below the surface of the American attitude toward the government," said Geoffrey Cocks, a historian at Albion College.

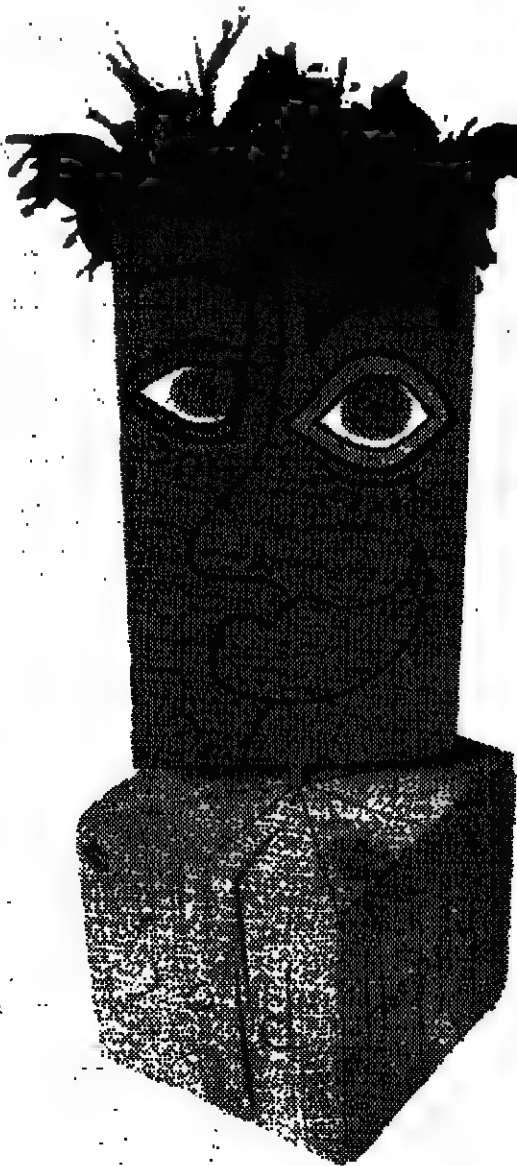
Richard A. Shweder, a professor of human development at the University of Chicago, said, "Paranooids as a rule pay close attention to what's going on." Considering some of the documented abuses by the C.I.A., the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other Federal agencies, Mr. Shweder said, a deranged mind could easily find evidence to spin delusional theories.

There isn't much detailed research on why America produces delusional people prone to violence, but some experts say the easy availability of guns and explosives contributes to the phenomenon, as does the weakening of traditional family and community safety nets that used to keep many of the violent mentally ill in check.

A study by the World Health Organization during the 1980's found that paranoid schizophrenics in 10 countries shared "persistent, compelling delusional beliefs about themselves and the world in which nothing is accidental and everything has special significance," said Assen Jablensky, a professor of psychiatry at the University of Western Australia who helped evaluate the research.

The study — which focused on Japan, Denmark, Colombia, Nigeria, India, the former Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Britain, Ireland and the United States — found that schizophrenics generally responded better

The deranged exist in all cultures, but in America they are more violent.



Stephen Crowley/The New York Times

A lone demonstrator making a religious statement near the White House.

delusions "usually involved God or Jesus" until well into this century, Dr. Gottesman said.

Then came radio, which carried messages from unseen voices from far away, followed by television, which distilled broad national experiences into intensely personal images. With the advent of broadcast technology, Dr. Gottesman said, "We went from Jesus to the C.I.A. without a break, really."

Dr. Westermeyer added: "In the United States, you don't see nearly as many mentally ill people anymore who have delusions and hallucinations with regard to God and the saints as you did 20 or 30 years ago, when I first doing this work. In our secular society, it's more a matter of, well, the President or the C.I.A. is affecting my behavior by radio waves or microwave receivers in my teeth."

Extreme cases like the shootings in the Capitol aside, the source of most violence by paranoid schizophrenics is closer to home, Dr. Westermeyer said. "You actually get more of that kind of violence on a pedestrian level — people ascribing the evil in their lives to a spouse, to parents, a boss or co-workers," he said.

Jackie Goldstein, an associate professor of psychology at Stanford University, said: "We all feel some paranoia or have what could be classified as delusional thoughts occasionally. That doesn't mean we're all suffering from paranoid schizophrenia." But for those who are, she said, it is logical, if not reasonable, to fix on bogymen like the C.I.A.: "Somebody all-powerful is out to get me? It must be the C.I.A. Why? It's all-powerful. It's done all these bizarre things. And it's secretive."

### Hearing Voices

An obsession with "sources of great power" is a common thread among all delusional paranooids, said Irving Gottesman, a professor of psychology at the University of Virginia. In the United States, paranoid

to treatment in less developed countries than in more technologically developed ones.

The study also found that schizophrenics in Colombia, Nigeria and India suffered less severe symptoms than those in Britain and the United States, a difference attributed to cultural factors like stronger extended families and greater financial pressure to hold a job.

Joseph Westermeyer, a professor of psychiatry at the University of Minnesota who has done extensive research on the mentally ill in Southeast Asia, said that in less developed countries, "People who have paranoid delusions tend to focus them more

on powerful spiritual forces, like demons or gods."

"If they feel their life is being taken out of their control they might look to things like sorcery, ghosts or the animistic forces in nature," he added, or to "black magic" directed at them by relatives or neighbors with whom they are having a dispute.

Paula Ghemal/The New York Times

"Schizobrometer," by John Haas, a schizophrenic, and his brothers Jim and Henry.

## Lewinsky's Legacy

Continued from Page 8

effort to shield Secret Service agents from grand jury testimony in the Lewinsky matter was also slapped down.

The United States Court of Appeals ruled last week that Bruce R. Lindsey, deputy White House counsel and Mr. Clinton's closest confidant, could not invoke lawyer-client privilege to avoid testifying before the Lewinsky grand jury.

Judge David S. Tatel, in dissent, predicted dire consequences of the ruling, saying the unique demands of the Presidency require free-wheeling advice from aides and Government lawyers. The majority, however, decided that future Presidents have no need to worry about a breach of confidentiality unless they are plotting potentially illegal acts subject to legitimate investigation.

### The Political Fallout Theory

Democrats naturally worry that Mr. Clinton's problems could rub off on them, not only in Congressional elections this year but in the Presidential race in 2000. But Mr. Clinton's fortunes and those of his party have often failed to coincide. And it is telling that many Republicans see more political problems for them if Mr. Clinton leaves office prematurely than if he survives. If he quits, Vice President Al Gore becomes an incumbent candidate in 2000.

Joel H. Silbey, professor of political science at Cornell University, said that even assuming the worst outcome for Mr. Clinton — resignation or impeachment, both of which he considers highly unlikely — there would be little political impact. Mr. Gore would move into the White House and presumably continue the policies that he and Mr. Clinton have pursued for the past five years.

"It would be a personal tragedy for Clinton, and one more terrible bump in the blows we've been taking as a political system, but it doesn't have the staying power that Watergate did," Professor Silbey said. "People would shrug their shoulders."

### The Changed Public Discourse Theory

One effect of Whitewater that may take a long time to dissipate is the lifting of taboos on discussions that not long ago were considered unfit for public discourse. In 1987 Gary Hart opened politicians to questions about extramarital sexual affairs. Mr. Clinton survived weeks of questions during the 1992 campaign about his relationship with Gennifer Flowers. He finally quieted them with a qualified confessional on "60 Minutes."

Anyone contemplating a run for public office must keep the prospect that his or her morality will be debated on cable television by sex therapists, jury consultants and dime store philosophers. "Watching some of these press briefings over the past weeks, you get the idea that nothing is sacred after all," Mr. Silbey said. "That's the longest-lasting impact of all. Nothing is out of the arena of discussion, and maybe some things should be."



## Ideas & Trends

# Why Russia Needs No 'Saving Private Ryan'

By MICHAEL WINES

CENTURIES ago, when laying siege to Moscow was a coming-of-age rite for aspiring young plunderers and sackers, a tradition developed in which invading chieftains camped southwest of town, on a big hill by the Moscow River, and awaited word of surrender. Legend says Napoleon slept there, in 1812, at the climax of one of history's most infamous military campaigns. This was no ordinary hill. Was, because it no longer exists.

A few years ago, the Russians bulldozed it tabletop-flat to build an out-sized monument to their victory in the Great Patriotic War, otherwise known as World War II.

Russians take World War II seriously. This is not to say that Americans do not. Perhaps to its credit, America has been bowled over, emotionally and viscerally, by "Saving Private Ryan," the new Steven Spielberg film that is being hailed as a corrective to Hollywood's glorification, even trivialization, of combat.

Moviegoers are yanked out of their romantic reveries about war by a display of gore that makes Sam Peckinpah look like Mr. Rogers. They may never look at a war movie the same way again.

To which Russians might say, "What took you so long?" "If on your territory there was a war every 10 years, and half the country was destroyed and every family lost someone — well, what attitude would you have toward war?" asks Pavel G. Chukhrai. "For us, war was never a stroll."

### Pacifist Themes

Mr. Chukhrai, a Spielberg fan, has more standing to speak about war films than most. He is one of Russia's most successful modern directors. His most recent film, "Vor" ("A Thief") was nominated for an Academy Award and won a sheaf of foreign prizes. The story of a World War II family taken in by a con man in a military uniform, it is a parable about the rule of Stalin and Russia's tragic search for a strongman.

His 77-year-old father, Grigory Chukhrai, is the director of one of Russia's most acclaimed and contro-

versal World War II films, "Ballad of a Soldier." It is the 1959 story of a war hero who is rewarded with home leave, falls in love, tends to his mother and eventually returns to the front to die in battle.

"Russian films always had big crowds of soldiers, battle scenes and people giving their lives for the motherland," he said in an interview last week. "I decided to make a film about what happens when the world loses a single nice person."

These are pacifist themes, yet as the invasion of Afghanistan and the conflict in the breakaway republic of Chechnya both demonstrate, all Russians are not pacifists. At the same time, the military disasters in both places go a long way to explain the strain of cynicism that runs through Russian attitudes toward the military today, which both Chukhrairs acknowledge. Among the young in particular, war and military service, at a time when the Government is hard-pressed to pay its soldiers, have lost much of their appeal, as they did in the United States after the Vietnam war.

"For generations after me, the Great Patriotic War is very far away," said the younger Mr. Chukhrai, who was born in 1946. "The attitude isn't so emotional. I can have an attitude toward Napoleon and the War of 1812, but it isn't emotional. It's the same with them."



Proffing in the shadow of Moscow's monument to the Russian victory in the Great Patriotic War.

Russians are a little rankled that Americans seem to know so little of the winter siege that preoccupied Hitler's army while the West marshaled its strength for the campaign in Western Europe that inspired countless miles of Hollywood celluloid. Russian Army casualties, conservatively estimated at 29 million, represented more than three-quarters of all Allied casualties in the war, according to the historian Orlando Figes — and that's not counting Russian civilians.

As the two Chukhrairs make clear, World War II for the Russian people was never a struggle for Stalin or communism; rather, it was a struggle against German invaders. In America, a nation which has not been invaded since 1812, it is a distinction that is easily overlooked.

"People were not defending communism," the younger Mr. Chukhrai said. "They were defending their national identity, their loved ones. It is not for nothing that people who fought there believe to the end of their days — 40, 50 years later — that this was the high point of their lives."

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### Not Just Another Pretty Face

# Lolitas Don't Shock Anymore, but 'Lolita' Still Does

By ANTHONY RAMIREZ

I AM probably responsible for the odd fact that people don't seem to name their daughters Lolita anymore," Vladimir Nabokov once said.

"Lolita" is Nabokov's story of Humbert Humbert, a 36-year-old man, and his doomed obsession with a 12-year-old girl. Few literary creations have entered the popular imagination in the same way "Lolita" has.

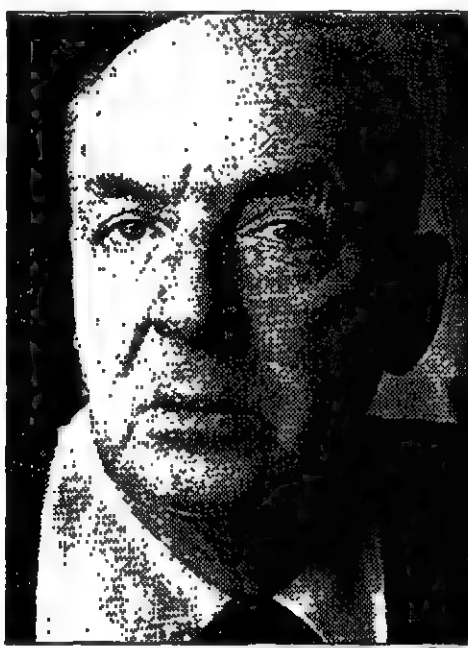
By now, the idea of Lolita, defined by the American Heritage Dictionary as "a seductive adolescent girl," should be passé. After all, if they were made flesh, Humbert and Lolita would not seem out of place on "The Jerry Springer Show." There, under the hot lights, Humbert would slump in his chair, alternately sullen and importuning, while Lolita, peevish and out of control, would be restrained by stagehands as she seethed about how Humbert done her wrong.

### Public Fears

Yet Nabokov's "Lolita," or at least what people think of when they think of Lolita, continues to disturb. Tonight, a new R-rated movie version, starring Jeremy Irons and directed by Adrian Lyne, will have its American premiere on Showtime cable television and open in theaters next month.

Last week, the Cincinnati-based National Coalition for the Protection of Children and Families urged Showtime not to broadcast the movie, but the network declined. "This film will increase child molestation and have a harmful effect on pedophiles and healthy men," said Jerry Kirk, the group's president.

Like the novel, the new movie almost didn't reach the public. Nabokov's novel, completed in 1953, was rejected by five American publishers for fear of being prosecuted for obscenity before it was published in Paris in 1955 and in New York in 1958 by G. P. Putnam's Sons. The movie languished for more than a year, its distributors decid-



Vladimir Nabokov, author of "Lolita."



In a new film, Dominique Swain plays Lolita, object of Humbert Humbert's obsession.

ing on only a limited release in Europe, which was absorbed by pedophilia scandals in Belgium last year. Similarly, American film distributors, worried that the subject matter would be box office poison, rejected the movie until Showtime, in search of high-profile programming, picked it up.

"Nabokov did not write Lolita to gain sympathy for pedophiles," said Alfred Appel Jr., editor of "The Annotated Lolita" (Vintage, 1991). "Lolita is not about pornography. It's about a crippling obsession."

But what also disturbs is that Humbert is recognizably human, said the novelist Martin Amis, who wrote an article in the Atlantic Monthly on "Lolita" in 1992. His obsession shocks, Mr. Amis said, because it is the failing of a human being, and not that of a monster.

"The idea of hidden sexuality in a child is a

haunting one," he said. "It is something that some part of us wants to see, but another part of us never wants to see."

Tricky on the page, "Lolita" is even trickier on screen. The book was first adapted to film in 1962 by Stanley Kubrick, who complained later that he had not anticipated the intensity of studio censorship. The movie eventually became more chaste, with Humbert becoming older and less vigorous in the person of 52-year-old James Mason, who never kisses Lolita. At the same time, Mr. Kubrick made Lolita more lurid — and a teen-ager — in the person of 15-year-old bikini-clad, lollipop-licking Sue Lyon.

The lurid shock. When people think of Lolita, they think of that sexually aggressive teen-ager, not Nabokov. The latest movie version hews closer to the book, but any depiction of sex with a child, unfiltered by

Nabokov's ironic prose, is shocking. Mr. Lyne's Lolita, Dominique Swain, who was 15 at the time of filming, is made to look, with pigtails, like a 12-year-old.

After a screening of "Lolita" earlier this year, the movie's screenwriter, Stephen Schiff, was startled when a woman blithely said to him, "I guess you called her Lolita because she was really kind of a Lolita, huh?"

Today there seem to be so many real-life counterparts to Humbert and his "Lo" (full name: Dolores Haze), ranging from the buffoonish to the discomfiting to the horrifying: Amy Fisher and Joey Buttafuoco, Scott-Yi Previn and Woody Allen, JonBenet Ramsey and her murderer.

Stephanie Coontz, author of "The Way We Really Are: Coming to Terms With America's Changing Families" (Basic Books,

1997), said earlier Americans held views about children and sexuality that would be disturbing today. In 1889, the age of female consent was 10 in 14 states, including Alabama and New Jersey, and as young as 7 in Delaware. Campaigns led by early feminists helped raise the age to 18, she said. "In a way, however, innocence then became eroticized," Ms. Coontz said. "Lack of experience, innocence, became the ideal for the marriageable woman. But what is the ultimate lack of experience, if not the prepubescent?"

### No More Secrets

Neil Postman, who wrote "The Disappearance of Childhood" (Vintage, 1994), said "Lolita" is disturbing for a far deeper reason; childhood, as an age of protection from adult secrets, is fast disappearing, he said.

"With the new technologies, television being at the forefront, there are fewer and fewer secrets — medical secrets, sexual secrets, political secrets," Mr. Postman said. "Adults used to reveal secrets to you, the child, in stages, in school, in books. When you knew all the secrets, you become an adult. But now all of that is available on the Internet or TV."

Moreover, as society has become more tolerant of sexual matters, including adultery and homosexuality as well as teen-age sex, it has become less tolerant of anything that hints of adult sex with pre-teen children, said Paula S. Fass, author of "Kidnapped: Child Abduction in America" (Oxford University, 1997). "We've become a society obsessed by, haunted by, sex with children," she said. "I, as a parent and citizen, want our children protected, but now any kind of adult love or attention paid to children is immediately suspect."

For Mr. Schiff, it was easy to keep the novel's late 1940's time period for the movie. "I didn't set Lolita in contemporary times for a simple reason," he said. "It would be absurd. Parents today would be looking for Humbert Humbert everywhere."

# Contagion Effect: Guide to the Modern Domino Theory

Continued from Page 8

warned in Australia, which is reeling from Asia's troubles, "can give rise to mistrust among nations."

And the Clinton Administration, like the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations during Vietnam, is using the fear of falling dominoes to get Congress to finance a policy of containment. On Friday President Clinton used the latest evidence of a slowdown in the American economy — 1.4 percent growth in the second quarter, down from 5.5 percent — to bolster his arguments that Congress should pony up \$18 billion more for the International Monetary Fund. The I.M.F. cites the anxieties about "systemic contagion" in the world's major economies to explain why it has led rescue efforts totaling roughly \$150 billion in Thailand, Indonesia, South Korea and the riskiest bailout of all, Russia. (And that excludes this summer's coming attractions: Ukraine, Pakistan and perhaps Malaysia.)

But how many of the world's problems can contagion really explain? Can a banking crisis in rich, mismanaged Japan really explain the flight of investors from broke, mismanaged Russia? Why should a stampede of investors out of a small nation like Thailand cause absolutely nothing for two months and then lead to a stampede in neighboring Indonesia and then faraway emerging markets from South Africa to Brazil? And since it was not exactly a well-kept secret that Southeast Asia is a hotbed of cronyism, corruption and weak banks, how could some of the world's savviest investors suddenly conclude that this is a fatal flaw, one that sent them racing to pull out their money?

The answer is that sometimes the fall of the fiscal dominoes makes perfect sense. Except when it doesn't.

The most straightforward strain of economic contagion is as old as international trade, and these days farmers in North Dakota and miners in Australia can tell you all about it. Asia's slowdown has cut deeply into its consumption of all kinds of commodities. It took a while to ripple through the world economy, but now it has hit full force. American exports, which drove economic growth for so long, have fallen off a cliff. Moreover, the resulting commodities glut has depressed prices for everyone. And the price declines have wreaked havoc elsewhere. Russia's biggest problem is that it can't convince its people to pay taxes, but its second-biggest problem is the decline in oil prices that has cut into its most important source of hard currency.

But there are other, more complex channels of contagion, like the currency devaluations that have sent Asia reeling. More than ever, countries compete with each other the same way companies do: South Korea and Japan, for example, both produce computer chips and cars. And when one country's currency falls, those products are suddenly available in the United States and elsewhere at sale prices. That tempts other countries to let the value of their currencies fall.

### Vicious Cycle

That can quickly turn into a vicious, competitive cycle, which is one reason the United States is pleading with China and Russia not to devalue their currencies. "If China devalues, Southeast Asia is back in the fire," says one senior I.M.F. official. "And if Russia devalues, that's it for the Ukraine."

Investors, of course, don't stand around watching. They play a critical role in fueling the fires, or tamping

them out. And this is where the markets and the politics get so intertwined that it is impossible to tell where domestic economic policy stops and diplomacy begins.

### Getting Sicker

Last Thursday, for example, The New York Times reported that American officials and outside experts now believe Japan's banks may have upwards of \$1 trillion in bad debts. Traders began to sell the yen, and kept selling after the new Japanese finance minister, Kiichi Miyazawa, made comments about his economic plans that sounded wobbly to investors around the world. Earlier in the week, Russian officials, fresh from their latest I.M.F. bailout, sounded marginally less serious about implementing the reforms they promised in return for the world's money. Investors hit the sell button.

This is where the market contagion kicks in. If Japan is getting sicker, doesn't that mean its time to sell currencies elsewhere in Asia, where everything depends on how fast Japan recovers? And other investors, sitting in their offices in New York or at a home computer in Berlin, may simply decide that they didn't know as much about some of these countries as they thought they did. Rather than examine the differences between Thailand and Indonesia they succumb to the natural reaction to pack up their cash and get out of every emerging market. Technology has made that cheaper and easier to do than ever, so infections spread faster than ever.

This phenomenon is not limited to new investors. "We were astounded to discover how little some very large investors knew about Korea," Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin said a few months ago. Once turned, he noted, they looked for similar symptoms elsewhere and

found them all over the globe. That's when those dominoes start falling.

"The only way to describe this is rational panic," said Jeffrey Sachs, a Harvard economist who has studied the causes of contagion. "Even if you think that conditions are fundamentally sound in a country, if everyone else is headed out the door, it makes sense for you to head out, too, because someone is going to be left holding the bag."

Mr. Sachs and others have been studying the question of how to identify countries that could easily fall prey to contagion. He and others are increasingly focused on the ratio of a country's short-term debts to its foreign currency reserves. If the debt soars out of line with the reserves, it can lead to panic. But the I.M.F. is hesitant to blow the whistle on countries that appear headed for trouble, for fear of causing a crisis.

### Picking Up the Dominoes

So countries are looking for other solutions. Tung Chee-hwa, the chief executive of the world's most free-market city, Hong Kong, startled President Clinton's delegation during its visit last month when he talked about whether Asian countries should control the flow of capital into and out of the region. No one in Asia talked that way when \$400 billion poured in between 1990 and 1996. But then it all left at once.

All that money is not going to flow back any time soon. Investors hate uncertainty. Eventually, bargain hunters sense that the bottom has been hit and money is once again trickling back into Thailand and Korea. But as anyone who has played with dominoes knows, knocking them over takes a lot less time than setting them up.



# Quiet Team Players Are Leading Big Mergers

By LAURA M. HOLSON

IT'S mind-boggling to consider what \$1 trillion is worth. It makes up the total gross domestic product of Britain. It could buy the majority of California's seven million single-family homes and condominiums. It is also the value of all announced merger-and-acquisition activity in the United States this year.

On average, there have been 29 deals a day. You can't turn on the television without hearing some executive extol the benefits of the latest strategic combination. But one thing seems missing: Where are the investment bankers who are brokering all these mergers?

Gone are the 1980's, when self-described "masters of the universe" hired publicists to make sure that Fortune and The Wall Street Journal touted their feats. These days, if you ask a merger professional to name a larger-than-life personality in the field — someone on the order of Bruce Wasserstein, the creative takeover strategist renowned for courting the press, or Robert F. Greenhill, the Morgan Stanley deal maker who later became chairman and chief executive of Smith Barney — the telephone line nearly goes dead. "I can't think of anyone," one lawyer said. "That's tough," a banking executive said.

In the 1990's, publicity is out and modesty is in. The flamboyant power brokers of a decade ago have been supplanted by the likes of Gene T. Sykes, a Goldman, Sachs & Company partner whom you probably have never heard of but has been involved in 4 of the top 15 deals this year. Or Thomas C. King, the Salomon Smith Barney banker who was chief strategist for Worldcom when it outmaneuvered British Telecommunications with a \$37 billion bid for MCI Communications last year.

"I don't need this," Mr. King said one afternoon in June, fretting about a press interview. Colleagues could interpret it as grandstanding to bolster his own career, he complained. It might antagonize his bosses, who value teamwork. And clients don't like press bounds. "Anyone who thinks they are a one-man show in M&A, you don't want as a banker," Mr. King said. "There are more issues than any one man can deal with."

With the volume of mergers and acquisitions climbing ever higher, his is a common sentiment on Wall Street. And as the taste for mergers has changed, the investment banker's style has shifted with it. Investment banks have transformed themselves from deal-making and deal-breaking factories — which companies hired to shield themselves from the likes of Carl C. Icahn or Henry R. Kravis of Kohlberg Kravis Roberts

— into institutions where the patina of a brand name attracts business for a multitude of services offered to clients.

What has emerged is the 90's banker — an expert in his client's industry who values teamwork over public aggrandizement and takes a backseat to the companies and corporate executives he represents.

In part, the bankers are playing the role of trusted adviser because companies are doing the washbuckling themselves. For all the deals being forged, fewer companies, on a percentage basis, are enlisting the help of investment bankers. Of the 11,118 domestic deals announced last year, about 80 percent were negotiated without a banker on either side, up from 59 percent in 1988, according to the Securities Data Company, a research firm in Newark.

As one might guess, the bulk of the transactions are at the smaller end of the spectrum, deals valued at less than \$250 million. And there is still a bonanza of work to go around because the number of deals has increased threefold. But executives at large companies have taken to negotiating their own terms, too, like Sanford I. Weill of Travelers Group, who talked directly to Citicorp's chief executive, John S. Reed, when those companies decided to merge last spring.

That is because today's deals are more likely to be friendly; the raging bull market has made corporate stock a currency that acquirers dole out generously and few targets are inclined to turn down. As a result, the brash strategist who fended off cash-toting raiders in the 80's is passé. "This is not a period where bombast counts," said Joseph H. Flom, a lawyer at Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom who was a pioneer in offering legal advice about takeovers.

It is still possible to identify pre-eminent deal makers. But instead of a list of bold strategists who conjure up deals and then sell companies on their virtues, the lineup is full of smart tacticians who help executives weigh the companies that will be their best long-term partners. An examination of this year's biggest deals and interviews with dozens of merger professionals — and the executives who hire them — produced a list of four bankers who are widely recognized as at the top of their field. As the merger activity of 1998 might suggest, these are the bankers who dominate deal-making in the financial services, technology and telecommunications industries.

In the past, deal makers were a tight-knit group of heavy hitters who dined in stylish restaurants after days of pounding the conference room table. It was hard to find an empty bar stool at Harry's at Rancor Square, a favorite Wall Street hangout, where traders buzzed about the latest takeover battle. There was no E-mail, so breakfast at the Regency Hotel on Manhattan's East Side was a must for bankers hoping to swap gossip.

Now, bankers' numbers have swelled and they are wired — literally. Voice mail and E-mail are favored ways to communicate with colleagues, especially with the global merger wave forcing more bankers onto airplanes to visit clients. Teams in New York now work with specialists in Europe and Asia. As a result, bankers are less clubby, and their frenetic pace is more grueling than glamorous.

One thing hasn't changed. Deal-making is still very much the boys' club it was 10 years ago. Few women have emerged into prominence, although more are showing up at the table, like Jill Greenhall, the lead media and telecommunications banker at Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette, who represented Tele-Communications Inc. in the negotiations that led to its deal to be acquired by AT&T for \$36 billion.

And don't mistake bankers' public humility for an ego deficit. In that regard, they are still very much like their predecessors. "The difference between you and me is you observe history, I make it," one deal maker told a reporter, in a nod to his own self-importance. The difference is that such behavior is largely kept behind closed doors. "If you are perceived as a publicity hog," warned



Joseph Perella, left, and Bruce Wasserstein made deals at First Boston.

Joseph R. Perella, head of the global investment banking arm of Morgan Stanley Dean Witter, "you will be ostracized here."

Bankers today are all too cognizant of the antics of their 1980's counterparts, some of whose reputations crashed along with the market in 1987, and a few of whom went to jail for insider trading. With the kind of salaries and bonuses that bankers are raking in — anywhere from \$150,000 for a first-year associate to \$3 million to \$5 million for a seasoned professional — no one wants to be a reminder of those gluttonous days. Especially now, industry executives say, because most bankers earn even more than Wall Street types did a decade ago.

"Clients recognize that they are paying big fees, but they would be offended if they saw it flaunted," said one banker who spoke on the condition of anonymity. "If you look at compensation, most of the people we work for, our clients, don't earn what we earn."

## Bringing Insight to the Table

It's a late afternoon in July, and Scott D. Sullivan, the chief financial officer of Worldcom, is describing one of his worst encounters with a banker. "He had every company in the industry in his pitchbook," Mr. Sullivan groaned, ticking off a few of the 100 companies the banker was promoting as potential merger partners. Ten minutes into the pitch, Mr. Sullivan realized that his visitor had not studied Worldcom's business plan. He quickly showed him the door.

"It was like throwing 10 strands of spaghetti at the wall and seeing what would stick," he said of the banker's proposals. "They discredit themselves when they do that, and I have a long memory."

It was a different game a decade ago, when serving up a friendly partner was enough to get you hired. Then, buyout firms borrowed money, with help from the likes of the junk-bond merchant Drexel Burnham Lambert, to buy companies in distress. The most valuable bankers fended off those unwelcome advances, either through clever financing or finding a "white knight" to save a company from a predator's clutches. But now that only a tiny sliver of deals is hostile — a tenth of the proportion in the late 1980's — those skills are out of favor.

"You begin to ask yourself, 'What does an investment banker bring?'" said Sieve Stetz, corporate vice president for mergers and acquisitions at the Monsanto Corporation, which agreed earlier this year to merge with American Home Products in a \$34.4 billion deal. "It's certainly not valuation skills. We can do that. It's clearly not negotiating skills."

The answer: Bankers can offer detailed knowledge of an industry's players and share insight about what corporate strategy will prevail in the years ahead. That is why Merrill Lynch recently hired Alan J. Biloski, who has a Ph.D. in chemistry and worked in Merck's research department, to join its team of pharmaceutical deal makers.

"In the 80's, M&A advisers were mainly execution specialists, called in by the client to get a deal done," said Jack Levy, head of global mergers and acquisitions at Merrill Lynch. "Now a key part of our value added is getting with the client at a far earlier stage to assist in their

forward strategic thinking." Many corporate executives grew up in the merger era, and so they are more familiar with deals than their predecessors were. For instance, Peter Currie, chief administrative officer of Netscape Communications, worked in media and telecommunications M&A at Morgan Stanley. William M. Wicker left his job as co-head of the energy mergers team at Credit Suisse First Boston to head up the corporate development group at Texaco.

"It's not like you are going to open your pitchbook and they are going to say, 'We never thought of that,'" said Mr. King, of Salomon Smith Barney. "You have to show the clever structure. You have to have a tax angle to get their attention. Or you need some special color about what the seller is thinking."

That is the kind of advice that companies are happy to pay for. But as mergers become an almost universal path to growth for companies, increasing numbers of them, like Bay's rival Cisco Systems, are choosing to do without expensive advice. Since 1993, Cisco has made 24 acquisitions without a banker.

Credit that to Mike Volpi, Cisco's vice president of business development. Before joining the company in 1994, Mr. Volpi, 31, worked as a mechanical engineer at Hewlett-Packard; he also earned bachelor's and master's degrees in mechanical engineering and then an M.B.A. from Stanford University.

"We know our strategy better than any investment banker," Mr. Volpi said. Twenty-five people report to him, including a former investment banker for BancAmerica Robertson Stephens and a former analyst for Morgan Stanley. Mr. Volpi relies on a network of venture capitalists for ideas, as well as on tips from Cisco's vast sales force. He also tracks the efforts of 200 entrepreneurs for potential acquisitions.

Cisco usually buys companies valued at \$50 million to \$300 million that are willing to accept its stock as payment — all of which keeps deals simpler, Mr. Volpi said. New recruits to his department are teamed with more experienced staffers, and once they have a few purchases in their portfolio, they get their own small deal to work on. "I teach them how to do acquisitions," he said. "The way to learn is through experience."

## One-Stop Shopping

So does that mean bankers are irrelevant? Hardly. But to remain profitable, investment banks have had to become bigger, broader institutions, selling advice alongside other products.

McClatchy Newspapers' recent acquisition of Cowles Media is a good example of the one-stop shopping trend. First, McClatchy was advised by a team in the media group of Salomon Smith Barney. Including a banker with experience running a British cable and telephone company, Salomon also underwrote a \$1.3 billion loan to finance the transaction. When the deal closed, McClatchy announced that it sold the Cowles book and magazine properties it didn't want, a deal also brokered by Salomon. Lastly, the bankers set up the road show in which management toured the country to sell the deal to investors.

"One-stop shopping is more acceptable to corporate clients today than it used to be," said Brian D.

Finn, the former co-head of mergers and acquisitions for Credit Suisse First Boston who now works at Clayton, Dubilier & Rice. "They used to be more skeptical and less trusting of investment bankers. But clients recognize now it is more efficient."

As a result, the key business strategy for investment banks has been to build a brand. When the bank itself possesses the star quality, it isn't so beholden to the whims of individual celebrities who can take a book of business with them if they defect.

The First Boston Group learned that lesson firsthand. Mr. Perella and Mr. Wasserstein were among Wall Street's highest-profile deal makers when they worked at the firm, involved in the takeover battle between the Bendix Corporation and the Martin Marietta Corporation and the war for control of Conoco. So when they announced in 1988 that they were leaving to start their own venture, it was a blow to First Boston. Bankers defected. Competitors sympathized, then poached clients. Only recently has the bank, now Credit Suisse First Boston, re-emerged as a competitor to watch.

Mr. Perella, for his part, left Mr. Wasserstein for the comfort of Morgan Stanley. And Mr. Wasserstein still heads Wasserstein Perella, although it hasn't recovered the glory of its early days. In a further indication of how times have changed, the once volatile Mr. Wasserstein did not return phone calls requesting an interview for this article.

Some firms are clearly thriving in the new environment. Merrill Lynch, for instance, which ranked seventh in merger activity as little as a decade ago, clocked in at No. 1 last year. But Lazard Frères & Company, which depends on rainmakers with long-term relationships to bring in business, has seen little growth in its market share in deals, according to Securities Data.

## Personalities and Platforms

Of course, many bankers who made headlines in the 1980's can still be found on Wall Street. Mr. Greenhill, the former Morgan Stanley banker, started his own shop in 1996 and was involved in this year's merger between Compaq Computer and Digital Equipment. Felix G. Rohatyn, of Lazard fame, was still making deals on the Street until last year, when he left to become Ambassador to France.

The closest thing to a media darling that investment banking has spawned in this generation is Frank P. Quattrone, the flamboyant technology maven who in 1996 defected with a team from Morgan Stanley to establish a high-technology unit for Deutsche Bank in Silicon Valley and just recently moved to Credit Suisse First Boston.

Mr. Quattrone uses his personality almost as a calling card, a tool to remind clients that he's there. "At the end of the day, clients are people," he said. "If you come across as a down-to-earth guy with a sense of your own being, they like that."

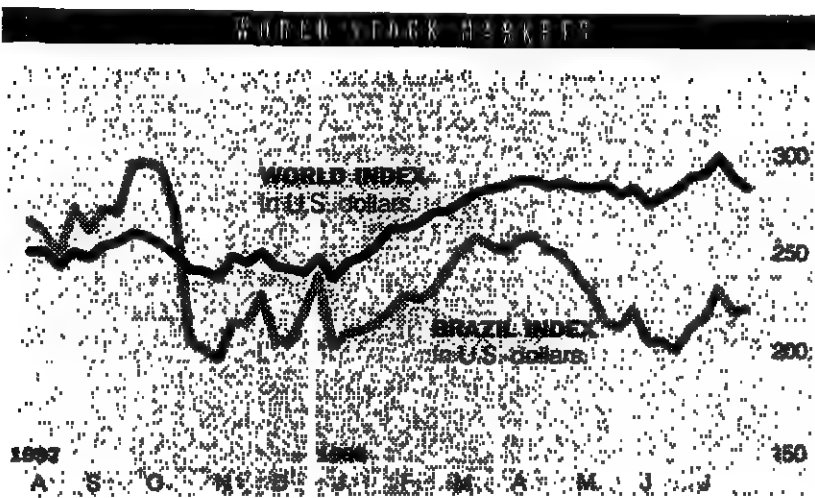
It is even more essential in the competitive world of high-technology banking. Silicon Valley has a distinct culture, and bankers often play to that — keeping offices on tony Sand Hill Road, spending weekends in the Napa Valley, calling on venture capitalists as often as companies.

"You need to understand the community you are going to serve," he said.

But even Mr. Quattrone nods to the notion that the institution — the likes of Goldman or Morgan Stanley, or his new firm — is necessary to land the account.

"If you can combine the personality with the platform, then maybe you have the best of both worlds," he said.

But if stocks crash and 80's-style corporate raiders decide that companies are ripe for takeover, the profile could change. Then, corporations will need defensive strategists to help fend off predators. And executives will be back on television, this time explaining why they shouldn't be bought. Corporate America will need a new style of deal maker. And those larger-than-life masters of the universe may roam Wall Street yet again.



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT Indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

PERFORMANCE		IN U.S. DOLLARS				IN LOCAL CURR.	
Country	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Index	YTD % Chg.
Australia	189.12	-4.0	25	-5.5	19	3.88	207.15
Austria	231.59	-3.4	22	-22.5	11	1.58	214.01
Belgium	385.94	-1.9	12	51.7	2	1.96	348.01
Brazil	228.97	0.6	4	-4.0	16	2.28	490.17
Britain	373.04	-2.4	14	12.4	14	2.94	338.09
Canada	214.68	-3.5	23	1.1	15	1.74	234.31
Denmark	509.82	-2.7	16	13.9	13	1.38	469.96
Finland	489.96	-2.7	17	75.9	1	1.85	555.99
France	327.54	-1.4	10	38.9	5	2.08	308.22
Germany	307.56	-3.2	20	34.1	6	1.17	284.39
Hong Kong	227.79	-4.0	26	-38.2	25	6.90	228.58
Indonesia	34.60	6.8	1	-47.8	28	2.43	279.11
Ireland	513.62	-1.2	8	27.9	8	1.90	511.81
Italy	173.37	-3.1	19	47.4	4	1.29	227.18
Japan	90.96	-2.0	13	-4.5	17	0.95	83.01
Malaysia	106.56	-3.3	21	-35.2	24	3.71	168.96
Mexico	1,351.99	-6.3	29	-25.0	23	2.08	13,187.76
Netherlands	522.24	-4.1	27	27.4	9	1.96	477.95
New Zealand	63.63	-0.9	7	-16.7	21	4.61	85.96
Norway	304.90	-1.3	9	-4.7	18	2.00	311.86
Philippines	96.74	-2.9	18	-15.9	20	1.22	140.03
Singapore	142.87	-2.6	15	-36.5	27	2.65	113.67
South Africa	215.66	0.4	5	-18.7	22	3.08	289.42
Spain	401.81	-0.7	6	47.8	3	1.66	459.54
Sweden	581.95	-4.3	28	23.9	10	1.71	683.44
Switzerland	436.51	1.1	3	28.1	7	1.03	403.36
Thailand	12.27	-7.5	30	-36.4	26	4.73	19.45
United States	458.29	-1.7	11	15.8	12	1.41	458.29

COMPOSITE INDICES		Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank
Europe	365.81	-2.2		26.5	1.97
Pacific Basin	96.08	-2.3		-9.3	1.71
Europe/Pacific	208.51	-2.2		14.4	1.90
World	289.82	-2.0		14.2	1.65

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1998 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

CURRENCIES		Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Exchange rate					
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar		144.65	141.44	+2.27	118.43
German marks to the U.S. dollar		1.7885	1.7820	-0.20	1.8627
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar		1.5117	1.4980	+0.85	1.3815
U.S. dollars to the British pound		1.6319	1.6596	-1.43	1.6314

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

## UPS AND DOWNS

### July 27-31: A Chutes-and-Ladders Week for Jittery Equity Markets

PRICES	
DOMESTIC EQUITIES	
Broad market	Down 1.76%
S. & P. 500 index	1,120.67
Blue chips	Down 0.60%
Dow 30 industrials	8,883.29
Small capitalization	Down 4.29%
Russell 2000 index	419.75

DOMESTIC BONDS	
Treasuries	Down 0.13%
Ryan Labs Total Return	222.32
Municipals	Down 0.13%
Bond Buyer index	123.53
Corporates	Down 0.32%
Merrill Lynch Master Index	975.67

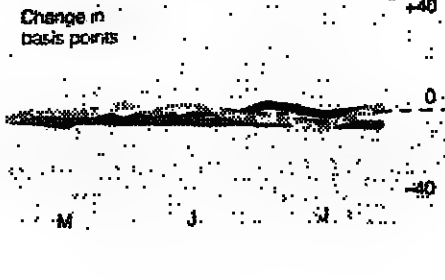
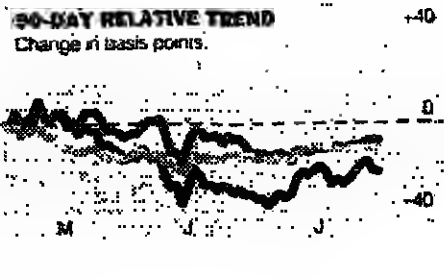
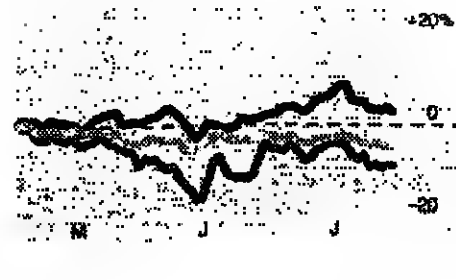
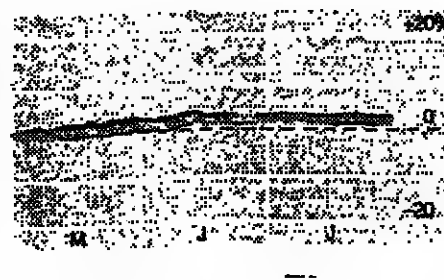
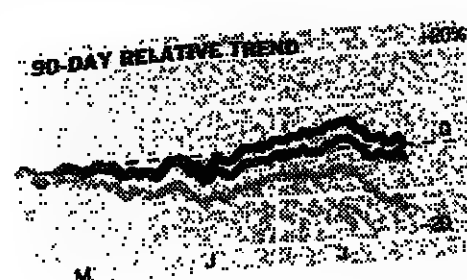
AROUND THE WORLD	
European stocks	Down 2.20%
F.T.-Actuaries Europe	365.81
Asian stocks	Down 2.35%
F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin	96.09
Gold	Down 1.68%
New York cash price	\$286.30

Foreign indexes are given in dollar terms.

YIELDS	
BONDS	
Long bonds	5.71%
30-year Treasuries	Up 3 basis pts.
Notes	5.48%
2-year Treasuries	Up 2 basis pts.
Municipals	5.26%
Bond Buyer index	Up 1 basis pt.

OTHER INVESTMENTS	
Money market funds	5.01%
Taxable average	Up 1 basis pt.
Bank C.D.'s	4.93%
1-year small savers	Unchanged
Stocks	1.44%
S. & P. 500 dividend yield	Up 4 b.p.

Sources: Bank Rate Monitor; Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer, Datastream; Goldman, Sachs; IBC's Money Fund Report; Merrill Lynch; Standard & Poor's; Ryan Labs





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Founded in 1851

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## The Millennium Bug Looms

Fear of chaos in the world's computer systems in the year 2000 may be hard for most people to take seriously. The temptation is to assume that since technicians created the problem, technicians can solve it. But with only 516 days until the fateful turnover, it is clear that the United States is not moving fast enough to fix its computers or prepare for significant disruptions. Instead of addressing a potential crisis, many leaders in business and government are complacent, declining to act for fear of lawsuits or engaging in political fights. Their lack of attention could be crippling.

The so-called millennium bug arises from chips and software coded to mark the years with only two digits. It is not adjusted by Jan. 1, 2000, myriad systems will "roll over like the odometer on an old Chevy," as *Wired* magazine put it, effectively thinking they had just jumped back to the year 1900. No one is sure what will happen. The breakdowns could be minor, or they could disable everything from air traffic control systems to financial networks, power grids, hospitals and home appliances. Some economists warn of a global recession.

It makes sense to prepare for the worst. The Federal Government has made progress but is far behind in upgrading air traffic systems, Medicare, the Pentagon and other sectors. In addition, a petty budget dispute between the House and Senate has blocked \$2 billion in emergency funds to speed up the process. A major problem is that even if the Federal Government is in perfect shape, its systems could become impaired by interacting with state and local governments, where potential problems are rampant. Similarly, big businesses could fix their own systems only to have them break down by contact with noncompliant customers, clients

and suppliers at home and overseas. The Securities and Exchange Commission is actively monitoring efforts to root out problems throughout the financial industry, but much more needs to be done.

President Clinton has belatedly stepped up the Federal campaign to increase public awareness by establishing a Council on Year 2000 Conversion, but he and Al Gore, the First Technophile, should do even more. They and sympathetic members of Congress should win passage of legislation to encourage companies to share information with one another, disclose problems to the public and move more aggressively to correct them. At present, many businesses are afraid to act out of fear that any corrective efforts that fell short would simply invite lawsuits charging that they knew their systems were flawed.

If the millennium bug problem were simply a matter of software, it would be bad enough. But experts say the most dangerous aspect of the problem is that so many systems — from missiles to natural gas pipelines to hospital equipment — rely on billions of tiny chips embedded where they would have to be found by engineers and reprogrammed or replaced. Congress should consider tax incentives or subsidies to encourage businesses to identify vulnerabilities and recruit professionals, including retired people.

It may well be that all these problems can be managed. But experts recommend that employees ask their bosses about what is being done to get ready. If the answer is that there is nothing to worry about, it is time to start worrying. It will cost billions to fix potential problems. But that is nothing compared to what it will cost if the fears of many experts prove correct.

## Mr. Babbitt Keeps Plugging

His favorite programs, including restoration of the Everglades and the repair of the national parks, are being hampered by the appropriations committee in Congress. His reputation in Washington is clouded by an investigation into allegations that contributions to the Democratic Party influenced his decision on an Indian casino license. Yet far from treading water, Bruce Babbitt is charging around the country doing what a Secretary of the Interior ought to be doing: spreading a gospel of stewardship and using the inherent powers of his office to put in place environmental strategies that, with any luck, will outlive his tenure.

Mr. Babbitt has been at this for a while. Occasionally he has overreached and sometimes the White House has let him down. His efforts to reform destructive grazing and mining practices have largely been thwarted by Congress. Other projects have fared better. He has engineered important land swaps that have enlarged protected wilderness, and he has tried to improve the workings of the Endangered Species Act by persuading landowners, developers and local governments to negotiate agreements protecting entire ecosystems.

Lately, he has taken on an even more ambitious target, the country's vast network of public and private dams. In so doing, he has also challenged 70 years of accepted public policy, which holds that dams are by definition a good thing. Mr. Babbitt is pressing a different philosophy — that while some dams are good, others are environmentally destructive, ruining watersheds and fish stocks.

Of the nearly 75,000 large dams in the United States, about 2,000 are privately owned hydroelectric dams, and the Federal licenses of 250 of these will be up for renewal in the next decade. Some of

these dams have already been denied licenses, and when the wrecking ball appears — as it has so far in Wisconsin, Maine, North Carolina and California — so, too, does Mr. Babbitt, pressing a philosophy that he hopes will inform Federal decision-making in the years ahead.

"Dams are not like the pyramids of Egypt that stand for eternity," he said recently as he took a sledgehammer to the McPherrin Dam on California's Butte Creek, once a major salmon run. "They are instruments that should be judged by the health of the rivers to which they belong." This is fairly ambitious stuff, at least as radical by Washington's standards as the efforts of Mike Dombeck, the Forest Service chief, to change the culture of an agency that has long promoted the harvesting of national forests at the expense of natural values.

The question now is whether Congress will provide the money to dismantle Federal and private dams that have outlived their usefulness as power generators, and to change the operations of others to make them more friendly to the environment. The key player here is Senator Slade Gorton, the Washington Republican who controls Interior Department spending. Mr. Gorton has been holding up the funds for a carefully crafted agreement to remove two dams on the Elwha River in his home state until he receives assurances that the Federal Government will not modify any other dam in the Pacific Northwest without Congressional approval.

The Senator says he is merely reflecting the views of working people who depend on cheap water and power from the Columbia and Snake River dams. Mr. Babbitt is trying to persuade Mr. Gorton that after all these years, the environment deserves a voice too.

## Editorial Notebook

### Uncovering the Secrets of Prek Yi Hin

#### At Election Time, a Cambodian Village Guards Its Mysteries

PREK YI HIN, Cambodia  
 Time has stood still for the village of Prek Yi Hin. Gaunt cows graze near rice and corn fields. In the cool undergrowth the still houses, women cut banana leaves and pigs nap. Politics also follows a long tradition in Prek Yi Hin, about 20 miles from Phnom Penh. A village leader administers what few programs reach here and chooses who gets rice when the harvest runs out.

The conduct of these leaders became a major issue in the debate over whether Cambodia's elections last week were free and fair. All village leaders are appointed by the Cambodian People's Party, which has ruled since 1979 and maintains an efficient, repressive political machine, especially in the hamlets where most Cambodians live. Election observers accuse village leaders of buying votes with sarangs, rice and money, and threatening opposition supporters. Fears were so high that ballots from several polling stations were mixed before counting to keep a village's vote secret. Foreign election observers and journalists visited hamlets across the country to try to gauge the extent of these practices.

In a village there is no such thing as a private conversation. As my translator and I moved from house to house the curious crowd following us grew. After a few conversations, 50 people pressed in on us and the woman we were trying to speak with. Asking to go into her house could have endangered her. So we talked to a crowd of giggling adults and naked children, and were told that everything was fine. If there was intimidation, people

were too intimidated to say. In another hamlet I had asked a similar throng of people if their village leader was democratically elected. They chorused yes, though he had been appointed in 1979. Here in Prek Yi Hin villagers assured us the election had brought them no threats. They said they had received no money, only clothing, from the C.P.P. Perhaps they had not been told gifts were sensitive. On no subject was there any dissent.

The village chief was at the polling station. Lu Mal, about 50, wore a sarong and rubber beach sandals. He said the C.P.P. had given out sarangs and rice, but no money. He was confident the party would win in the village, as 600 of 650 registered voters were members.

One woman did invite us into her house. So Eth, 41, urged that I print her name because her husband, Thong Sopha, who supported the royalist party Funcinpec, was murdered — one of scores of political killings in the past year. None have been seriously investigated, although her husband's murder was documented by a United Nations human rights office. She hoped that speaking out would press the Government to find the killers.

She said that her family was forced to join the C.P.P. and that before the election members got food, clothes and a dollar. Her house was one room, with a small, curtained sleeping area. The bare floor held only straw sleeping mats and a small, ancient television. A few of her seven children sat next to her as she wept softly.

After her husband registered to be a Funcinpec observer, she said, village officials summoned him. He became afraid and wanted to quit. He vanished June 18.

His body was found 12 days later, with his eyes gouged out, all his fingers severed and his legs stripped of flesh. The district police inspector suggested to the U.N. that he committed suicide. **TINA ROSENBERG**

## Right or Wrong to Name Names?

To the Editor:  
 Timothy Naftali (Op-Ed, July 29) suggests that recent disclosures from Russian and American files reveal so much complicity with the Soviets on the part of American Communists that giving names to an investigator can be condoned.

Yet by the early 1950's the Communist Party, though still apologizing for Moscow, no longer threatened the United States' security. Members and former members were under surveillance and subjected to severe official and unofficial sanctions. Surely a friendly witness like Elia Kazan worried as much about the blacklist as about the risk posed by actors he had known in the party nearly 20 years before.

As we reassess American Communism and anti-Communism, can't we admit that both sides were wrong?  
**ELLEN SCHRECKER**  
 New York, July 29, 1998  
 The writer is a professor of history at Yeshiva University.

To the Editor:  
 Timothy Naftali's elevation of Elia Kazan to martyrdom as an anti-Communist (Op-Ed, July 29) is questionable given the abundance of evidence that his testimony was a reluctant submission to pressures from studio executives — at best, an effort to protect his career at the expense of others. Even if fears of Communist infiltration in the film industry were true, such Communist influences could not have done anything approaching the damage to lives and cultural institutions from the hysteria to which Mr. Kazan lent a dubious credibility. I can fully understand why those in his industry can honor his work, yet continue to loathe the person.  
**WILLIAM SIMON**  
 Houston, July 29, 1998  
 The writer is a professor of sociology at the University of Houston.

To the Editor:  
 Here's what I learned from Timothy Naftali (Op-Ed, July 29): Paul Robeson emerged unscathed from the McCarthy era, since he now has been "forgiven" for holding political opinions. (At the time his ideas cost him his livelihood and made him subject to physical attack.) Elia Kazan was a victim of McCarthyism, since he recently was denied a couple of awards. (They would have recognized the popular, Oscar-winning movies he made in the cold-war era.)

Mr. Naftali then argues that George Orwell acted in the interests of freedom by identifying supposed Communists to an agency of the state. Conclusion: although the moral dilemmas of the cold war were complex, they can be simplified in favor of those who were "right about Communism." It's hard for me to follow Mr. Naftali's thinking, but I'm sure I wouldn't want him to call me "wrong."  
**STUART KLAUWANS**  
 New York, July 29, 1998  
 The writer is film critic of *The Nation*.

## Should We Invest Social Security in the Market?

To the Editor:  
 If putting Social Security money in our own hands means we invest it in the stock market ("How to Save Social Security," Op-Ed, July 27), the Government will have to raise interest rates to attract more Treasury bill investors, reducing the upward surge in stock prices and maintaining a market in fixed-income securities.

Yet such a situation is better than the current one, where the Government uses the Social Security fund as a source of cheap loans (by "investing" it in Treasury bills) at a rate artificially maintained by not giving citizens the right to invest the wealth elsewhere.  
**JOHN CHATTERTON**  
 New York, July 28, 1998

To the Editor:  
 Why not just tighten caps on Social Security instead of drastically reforming it (Op-Ed, July 27)? Exclude people above certain income levels and exclude recipients of other Federal pensions or programs. Make it clear that the program is to support the elderly who have trouble supporting themselves, not to help

To the Editor:  
 Your July 31 editorial on Jerome Robbins mentions that he named eight people as Communists before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It was not just a matter of whether it was right to name Communists. It was also a matter of whether he was telling the truth.

For example, Mr. Robbins named the playwright Edward Chodorov. Mr. Chodorov informed me in a conversation that he had never been a party member. When I asked why Mr. Robbins would lie, Mr. Chodorov said the committee had blackmailed Mr. Robbins, claiming to have information.

Your July 29 Op-Ed article on George Orwell also mentioned the case of Elia Kazan. Again the issue is mendacity, but not his. It was the Communists and their fellow travelers who lied about him. The big lie was that Mr. Kazan had only a money motive for naming names. Those who told the lie had their own motive: to invalidate all anti-Stalinism by pre-



tending it was necessarily in bad faith.  
**ERIC BENTLEY**  
 New York, July 31, 1998

To the Editor:  
 Timothy Naftali (Op-Ed, July 29) writes that "we should resist the temptation to condemn" Orwell's having "named names," because the reason he did so was his belief that "totalitarianism posed a greater threat to liberty than providing information on those with a history of supporting the Soviet Union."

Mr. Naftali should be aware that in this conviction (or was it a rationalization?), Orwell was no different from many of those who named names before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its heyday. Indeed, the history of domestic cold-war suggests that countersubversion did more damage to the Republic than any so-called subversive activities.  
**VICTOR NAVASKY**  
 New York, July 31, 1998  
 The writer is publisher and editorial director of *The Nation*.

middle-class retirees buy that beach house.  
**JASON CHAO**  
 New Providence, N.J., July 29, 1998

To the Editor:  
 President Clinton is considering having the Government purchase corporate stocks with Social Security tax receipts (news article, July 28). If this plan becomes law, the country that safeguarded the free-market system through decades will have begun one of the largest Socialist enterprises ever.

Even if only a fraction of Social Security taxes are allocated to the purchase of corporate stock, the Government will become the controlling shareholder of all, or almost all, publicly traded corporations. Wall Street brokers stand to profit in the short term, but in time they, too, will become Government functionaries.  
**J. DOUGLAS VAN SANT**  
 Stockton, Calif., July 30, 1998

To the Editor:  
 Robert G. Torricelli (Op-Ed, July 29) argues that 75 percent of the beneficiaries of educational savings accounts would be parents of public school children. In fact, the same Congressional report from which he draws this statistic found that 52 percent of the overall benefits would go to the parents of private school students and that the average annual benefit for public school families would be \$7, compared with \$37 for private school parents. The proposal is bad policy, aiding the rich, doing nothing for the poor and taking money from public education.  
**MARC STERN**  
 New York, July 29, 1998  
 The writer is co-director, legal dept., American Jewish Congress.

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## Justice Thomas Misses the Point

To the Editor:  
 Justice Clarence Thomas's remarks before the National Bar Association (front page, July 30) demonstrate how he continually misses the point. Countless jurists, citizens and statesmen abhor him not because he thinks for himself but rather because he thinks only of himself.

When Justice Thomas, referring to the state of being "set upon by hatred and repelled by rejection," said he'd "been there," he left unsaid the obvious — that he isn't "there" anymore. Many people still are. We who benefited from the miracle of American opportunity did so only because of the efforts of lawyers who knew that the Constitution does not tolerate inequality. Justice Thomas is rejected not merely because he has failed to pull the law wide enough to increase opportunity for blacks but because he has constricted the narrow opening.  
**EULAS BOYD**  
 New York, July 30, 1998

To the Editor:  
 To suggest that Justice Clarence Thomas or any black leader is free to espouse conservative thinking is ludicrous (editorial, July 31).

Compare the gingerly respectful stance taken by the black political establishment or the left in general toward Louis Farrakhan, who has aired embarrassingly bizarre opinions with the bitter vilification and scorn endured by Justice Thomas. Yet which of the two — Justice Thomas or Mr. Farrakhan — is closer to the mainstream?

One would hope Justice Thomas's critics would muster half the energy on Mr. Farrakhan as they do on Justice Thomas.  
**RUSSELL FALCONER**  
 Montauk, N.Y., July 31, 1998

To the Editor:  
 Justice Clarence Thomas's retort to his critics was well put and long overdue (front page, July 30). He was right to say that he refuses "to have my ideas assigned to me as though I was an intellectual slave because I'm black." For too long black America has been looked upon as monolithic, with assigned attitudes and stereotypical behaviors — much of it coming from the black community itself.

As the vice president of my college chapter of the College Republicans in the 1980's, I remember the awkwardness of having to defend my every action or statement, political or otherwise. I felt the anger of blacks when I asserted my right to live in a certain neighborhood, to socialize with a certain group of people and to vote for a certain candidate.

Justice Thomas is an individual. He is entitled to believe and live as he sees fit, without having to conform to stereotypes.  
**KEVIN JACKSON**  
 Philadelphia, July 30, 1998

To the Editor:  
 Your statement that Clarence Thomas's "impact on American law remains a bitter matter for those who see advances in social policy being steadily eroded" (editorial, July 31) is telling. Contrary to what you and Justice Thomas's critics believe, the law and its interpretation are not a vehicle for the advancement of liberal social policy.

The balance is now shifting back toward a strict constructionist interpretation of the Constitution, and you don't like it.  
**STAN KULP**  
 Sugar Land, Tex., July 31, 1998

To the Editor:  
 Justice Clarence Thomas is correct to say that he has been subjected to sulfurous attacks, but he is wrong to assert that this criticism results from his conservative opinions (front page, July 30).

Rather, Justice Thomas has been criticized because he is a hypocrite: he took advantage of affirmative action to get his education and advance his career, but now he opposes the very same programs.

It is typical that, after calling his critics "anti-intellectual" and "illiterate," Justice Thomas continues to engage in brazen intellectual dishonesty. He has no one to blame but himself for the harsh rhetoric being directed toward him.  
**STEVEN S. BERIZZI**  
 Hartford, July 30, 1998

To the Editor:  
 Your contention that Clarence Thomas distorts his vilification by blacks as an argument about racial politics instead of liberal views (editorial, July 31) is itself a major distortion.

While contending that his views are the issue and not race, you fail to realize that liberalism's last stand is to see the world entirely through race and gender politics, whether the individual in question is white or black.  
**KIP DELLINGER**  
 Santa Monica, Calif., July 31, 1998

To the Editor:  
 Clarence Thomas was the recipient and beneficiary of one of the largest affirmative actions in our judicial history (editorial, July 31). President George Bush appointed him because he was a black conservative, not because he was the most qualified.

A white man would never have been appointed to the Supreme Court if he had had the limited experience and legal reputation that Mr. Thomas had. University affirmative action programs pale compared with his appointment.  
**LEONARD RAUTENBERG**  
 East Hampton, N.Y., July 31, 1998



Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

# There's Something About Bill

Here is a consumer tip I never thought I'd find in The New York Times:

"If semen is found on the dress, prosecutors would then probably seek a saliva or blood sample from the President to determine if the DNA matched," read the lead story on Friday about President Clinton's travails. "Such a stain would retain DNA material for many years, unless the dress had been cleaned with detergents, said experts in DNA testing. Dry cleaning alone would not remove it, nor would storage under poor conditions, they said."

Hints from Heloise meets White House coverage. Forget money laundering. Now it's just laundering.

With "There's Something About Mary" and "BASEketball," we are in the era of gross-out movies, celebrating the disgusting, breaking taboos on private parts, precious bodily fluids and puerile sex jokes.

With Monica Lewinsky, Ken Starr and Bill Clinton, we are in the era of gross-out politics. Even in a scandal that has set new records for crudeness, the return of the infamous "love dress," as the tabloids call it, represents a grotesque turn.

What kind of girl saves such a trophy, much less sends it to her mother for safekeeping? One TV commentator dubbed it "the 90's version of a corsage."

There have been many surreal moments, but surely this one broke new ground. President Clinton coming out to the Rose Garden and trying to brag about the rosy economy, when he knew the reporters were waiting to pounce with only one question: "Would you voluntarily give a DNA sample in advance, sir?"

This week was a bizarre convergence of many unsavory elements of our society: the Clinton case merging with the O.J. case. Here was Barry Scheck back talking about DNA testing. Here was self-styled "citizen-journalist" Matt Drudge reporting that when Linda Tripp told Lucianne Goldberg about the dress, the hard-boiled literary agent consulted with one of her authors, Mark Fuhrman, about how a semen stain on a garment could be obtained. (For testing.) (A tip, dipped in water.) With the fate of the republic hanging on a navy blue cocktail dress, here was Bill Clinton jetting off to the Hamptons to visit the homes of Steven Spielberg and Alec Baldwin and Kim Basinger for an orgy of fundraising and celebrity in a gross-out synergy of Hollywood and Washington.

Although we do not like to admit it, America seems addicted to scraping the bottom of the barrel. We're getting cruder, more self-involved and more over-the-top by the minute. Phil Donahue devolves to Jerry Springer. Woody Allen devolves to the Farrelly brothers and "South Park" guys. Helen Gurley Brown devolves to Elizabeth Wurtzel.

The merger of entertainment and politics that began with John Kennedy and Ronald Reagan reached a sour fruition with Bill Clinton. He cam-

## America's gross-out era.

paigned and governed using lowbrow forums of popular entertainment, answering questions about boxers or briefs. And now the lowbrow culture he cultivated has engulfed his Presidency and, most likely, his legacy.

"Bill Clinton's place in history will be as the President who worried about his place in history," says The New Republic's literary editor, Leon Wieseltier.

Just as movie and television comedy is permeated with the ill-mannered, self-indulgent mentality of adolescent boys, Mr. Clinton has reversed the usual pattern of the Presidency, switching from a paternal model to an adolescent model. He expects us to clean up, ignore or forgive his messes.

It is easy to feel sorry for the likable and boyish President. Leaders should have some zone of privacy. And Mr. Clinton's tormentors are all so creepy, opportunistic and partisan.

Despite what the public thinks, most journalists I know are not panting after this story. Like the public, most of us find it disgusting and wish it would go away. No matter how many heartfelt speeches Linda Tripp gives about being at one with them, Americans are never going to forgive her illicitly taping a friend. And they are never going to approve of the salacious, relentless route Mr. Starr has taken in his pursuit of Mr. Clinton's scalp.

But the jam Mr. Clinton finds himself in is a direct result of his lack of discipline, his refusal to take responsibility and his willingness to lie, cover up, use loyal aides or smear talkative ex-girlfriends when all other means of escape seem blocked.

You might call it a vast gross-out conspiracy.

Op-Art

JULES FEIFFER

President Hadini's arms and legs are bound in chains.



The Special Prosecutor is beginning to lower him, by pulley, head first, into a vat of boiling oil.

This time there is no possible escape...



He's working the crowd: hugging the men, kissing the women... President Hadini, sir, your entire career is one death-defying escape after another. What can you possibly come up with next?



His head is encased in a concrete block with no air holes.



GASP! He's free! Out of the vat, out of the concrete, out of his chains!



My impeachment... chuckle... I can't wait!



# A Secret Proceeding With No Secrets

By Scott Turow

For those who think they are learning something about the grand jury process as Kenneth Starr's investigation of President Clinton winds down, I have a cautionary word. I have been involved on both sides of grand jury matters for 20 years now, and this is not what it's like. What we are seeing instead is an exclusively political process, one where hyperactive journalism and relentless spinning by the participants have largely turned the tidy truths of the law into laughable fictions.

The court decisions that have been sparked by the continuing firefights between the President and the independent counsel have all been governed by familiar principles, first announced when President Richard Nixon sought to suppress the White House tapes and extended last year when the Supreme Court decided that Paula Jones's lawsuit against Mr. Clinton could go forward. The courts, in all of these cases, have relentlessly spouted the slogans of blind justice: "No person is above the law," and "The courts have the right to every man's evidence."

On the basis of such principles, the President's efforts to invoke, at one time or another, executive privilege (regarding his aide, Sidney Blumenthal), attorney-client privilege (re-

participants — the prosecutors, the jurors, the investigating agents, even the court reporter — are absolutely bound under the threat of contempt from revealing anything about "matters occurring before the grand jury."

What has changed the game, of course, is the press. The encampment of reporters around the Federal courthouse in Washington, the relentless ferreting of information and the unscrupulous tactical leaking going on from all sides, but especially from the prosecutors, have gutted the rule of secrecy. The result is that the process bears little resemblance to what is intended.

The plain language of the rule of grand jury secrecy, for example, prevents disclosure of the identity of witnesses. Yet sitting in Chicago, I have routinely received, courtesy of various news outlets, a morning forecast of who will be called whenever the Lewinsky grand jury sits, not unlike the sports page's listings of probable starting pitchers in the day's baseball games.

Witnesses are photographed and often, like Linda Tripp last week, make public comments as they emerge. I know more, frankly, about what is occurring before the Lewinsky grand jury than in many pre-indictment cases I've defended in the last decade.

Indeed, in the last week, we also had the unprecedented spectacle of Ms. Lewinsky's lawyers informing the press that their client and her mother had been granted immunity. By the next morning, the inevitable leaked account of Ms. Lewinsky's supposedly secret testimony was on the front page of this and other newspapers. Within a day or two we even learned about the purported physical evidence — a dress, perhaps with a telltale stain, and an answering machine tape with the President's voice on it — that Ms. Lewinsky had delivered to the grand jury.

By now the press has mounted such enormous pressure on the participants that virtually all of them operate on the assumption that every secret will be exposed eventually. Consequently, they concern themselves foremost with public posturing.

Does anybody really think that Ms. Lewinsky would have chosen, if she could have avoided it, to announce to the world that she was ready to testify against the President to save her own skin? Or that Mr. Starr couldn't have asked her lawyers, as a courtesy attending the deal, to keep their mouths shut?

Mr. Clinton's decision last week to give testimony, reportedly on closed-circuit television, after being served with a grand jury subpoena from Mr. Starr, is yet another example of something that would never take place if the real rules were operating. Targets of grand jury investigations almost never testify. Why? Because they

take the Fifth. Innocent or guilty, the target rarely gains anything from giving the prosecutor a preview of his defense, especially from his own lips. Refusing to testify becomes virtually an iron-clad practice in perjury cases where, by definition, the target has testified already. Any major inconsistency between new testimony and old basically gives the prosecutor his case, with no need, under the law, to prove which version was untrue. It is so routine for grand jury targets to decline to testify that they are

## If you're studying the American legal system — well, this isn't it.

seidom subpoenaed. Indeed, the Justice Department discourages the practice of subpoenaing a grand jury target because he will almost always assert his right against self-incrimination, and forcing him to do so may bias the grand jurors, who are supposed to be impartially weighing the evidence. When a subpoena is necessary, the Justice Department's guidelines require prosecutors to assert the privilege by letter, rather than by personal appearance, to lessen the possible prejudice.

The President, of course, could never exercise his constitutional rights because a leak out of Mr. Starr's office, all but inevitable in the current environment, would be politically devastating. The public would regard it as tantamount to a confession and would forever associate Mr. Clinton with the files of those gravely voiced mafiosi who, during the Kefauver hearings many years ago, invoked their rights with barely lettered readings from the notecards their lawyers had given them.

The press, of course, regards itself as blameless. Reporters are doing the asking, not the leaking. And from the beginning, both the White House and Mr. Starr helped create this mess with furious efforts at spin control, eroding any hope or trust that the matter could be pursued in confidence.

But one of the enduring frustrations about the press in this country is that it lacks any institutional mechanism to defer to other important social institutions. The press sees itself as governed solely by the public's right to know. That is an important value in a democracy, and one with obvious application here. Most Americans clearly want to know if, in Richard Nixon's words, the President is a crook, or if the independent counsel, who is subject to precious little oversight, is behaving like a tyrant. But the traditional rule of grand jury secrecy does not obliterate those

values. It simply balances them against the need to protect the innocent and the rights of the potentially accused. If the grand jury finds that allegations have no basis, they are meant to die, unheard of, as all of us should wish. (And if a whitewash is suspected, nothing prevents the press from then examining the issues on its own.)

If there is probable cause to support the allegations, the prosecutor will present his evidence in public, where the defendant has the right to contest the charges and the prosecutor must prove them beyond a reasonable doubt.

None of that is happening here. Political values — the public's right to know about and judge the participants — have eclipsed legal principles. Some would argue that any time the President is involved, politics will trump all else, but again, the legal proceedings have gone forward on the law's assumption that this case can be handled like any other one.

By now, the investigation is not even a genuine grand jury inquiry. Mr. Starr is pursuing a case involving an accusation no prosecutor I know would relish trying: lying in a private lawsuit about a consensual sexual relationship, where the judge in that case has already ruled the matter irrelevant and where the alleged untruths had no effect on the outcome. In my experience, juries rarely convict for this kind of crime when no one was hurt.

But according to reports, Mr. Starr long ago concluded that the Constitution prohibited him from indicting and trying a sitting President. Instead, perhaps to salvage his much abused reputation, he intends to use a little-tested reporting provision of the independent counsel statute to pipe his evidence to Congress. There, the House Judiciary Committee may, if it chooses, issue articles of impeachment just in time for the fall elections.

That is politics, not law. The central purpose of the grand jury's inquiry is no longer to determine, according to the same standards applied to everyone else, whether the President committed a crime. The issues being addressed — the President's character and his fitness for office — are moral and political. And it is roundly inappropriate that the grand jury's great powers have been used to pursue those questions.

## Note to Readers

The Op-Ed page welcomes unsolicited manuscripts. Because of the volume of submissions, however, we regret that we cannot acknowledge an article or return it. If manuscripts are accepted for publication, authors will be notified within two weeks. For further information, call (212) 556-1831.

In America

BOB HERBERT

# A Case Of Lies

The days and nights pass with excruciating slowness for Jeffrey Blake. At age 29, he has spent more than a quarter of his life in state prison. Now the man whose testimony put him in prison says he was lying all along.

Dana Garner has passed a lie detector test with his latest story. The test results are no guarantee, but you need them with a fellow like Garner. He's the kind of guy who will tell you in the middle of a blizzard that the sun is shining and the temperature is approaching 90.

Back in 1990 he told police and prosecutors that he saw Mr. Blake murder two men in a car in the East New York section of Brooklyn. He said he saw it with his own eyes, saw Mr. Blake running beside the moving car, firing into it with an Uzi.

The testimony was the only evidence against Mr. Blake and even the lead prosecutor, Assistant District Attorney Anthony Catalano, said at a hearing that it "was not a particularly strong case." But a jury convicted Mr. Blake and he was sentenced to 36 years to life in prison.

It turns out that Mr. Catalano's comment was a gross understatement. The case against Jeffrey Blake was virtually nonexistent. Dana Garner is a flake who has claimed to have stumbled across several homicides and has changed his story a number of times in the Blake case. It now appears unlikely that he was even in New York on the day the two men were killed.

Mr. Garner testified in 1991 that his girlfriend, Margaret Allen, had also witnessed the murders. In a sworn affidavit this month, Ms. Allen, a resident of North Carolina, said: "During the time I was in Brooklyn, at no time did I ever witness two men being shot in a car, nor any other murder. I would remember a murder if I had seen one."

She said that she and Mr. Garner had walked and hitchhiked from North Carolina to Brooklyn in June of 1990, arriving in East New York late in the month. While in Brooklyn, she stayed with Mr. Garner at his grandmother's house, she said.

The murders occurred on June 18. Not only did she not see them, said Ms. Allen, but Dana Garner never mentioned to her that he had seen them.

Ms. Allen did not testify at Mr. Blake's trial. A spokesman for Brooklyn District Attorney Charles

## A murder conviction that should never have happened.

Hynes said he believed investigators were unable to locate her.

Investigators knew all along that Dana Garner's story was as shaky as knickknacks in an earthquake. He tried to recant during the trial but somehow was persuaded to go ahead with his original account. In April 1993, while Mr. Blake was appealing his conviction, Mr. Garner signed a sworn affidavit saying he had never witnessed the killings, that he arrived in Brooklyn from North Carolina after they had occurred and that he heard about them from people in the neighborhood.

But when it came time to tell that story in court, he refused, saying: "I would like to plead the Fifth because it might discriminate [sic] myself."

Mr. Blake's appeal was turned down. And that happened quietly, routinely, which tells you something. There was no outcry from the criminal justice system, no collective gasp at the fact that a man could be sent to prison for many long years on the uncorroborated word of an utterly worthless witness.

Mr. Garner said that Mr. Blake had escaped in a brightly colored van driven by a man named Tonto. But no van was found and no Tonto was produced. The Uzi was never found. No corroborating evidence of any kind was ever found.

And yet Jeffrey Blake, his appeals exhausted, is serving 36 years to life in Green Haven, a maximum security prison in upstate Dutchess County.

Last week I spoke with Barry Schreiber, a deputy district attorney in Mr. Hynes's office. Referring to Mr. Blake and the Legal Aid lawyers representing him, Mr. Schreiber said: "We haven't said to them, 'You've run out of legal options and we're not interested in talking to you.'"

He said the D.A.'s office is interested "if there is reason now to believe that [Garner's] testimony was not truthful, that his recantation is a legitimate one."

A meeting with Mr. Blake's lawyers has been scheduled, he said, adding, "If, in fact, an injustice was done because he's in fact innocent, we're as interested in getting to the bottom of it as they are."



## THE ARTS

## The Future of Hong Kong Film: Exit the Dragon?

By NEIL STRAUSS

IT'S opening night for "Young and Dangerous: The Prequel," a follow-up to one of the most successful Hong Kong movies of 1997, but the South China Theater in the busy Mong Kok neighborhood of Kowloon is practically empty. As the lights dim, there are 35 people seated in a theater built for more than 1,000. "It's not too bad," says Ryan Law, a walking encyclopedia of Hong Kong film who runs an Internet site called the Hong Kong Movie Database, as he surveys the audience. "I've seen worse."

Before the movie starts, a preview of Disney's "Mulan" flashes across the screen. "This is terrible," complains Tim Youngs, who runs his own World Wide Web site about Hong Kong film. "I've never known this theater to screen a Hollywood film before."

"Young and Dangerous: The Prequel" is the sixth installment in a series of youth-gone-wild gangster films to be released in the last two years. This movie, like most of the others in the series, was made in about a month, and the audience at the opening can tell. They don't laugh; they don't gasp. The dominant noise in the theater is the ringing of cell phones and the beeping of pagers. Other than repeated stabs at the Communist Government — "You're as rude as the Communists," says a police receptionist — there's virtually no substance to this formulaic movie.

After they leave the theater, Mr. Law and Mr. Youngs walk across the street to a shopping center called Chic. Off the escalator is a tiny white storefront. Its walls are lined with illegal VCD's — movies recorded onto compact disks — in plastic wrappers. Inside the store and waiting outside to get in, there are more people than were at "Young and Dangerous: The Prequel," says Paul Fonoroff, a film critic for The South China Morning Post who has reviewed more than 700 Hong Kong films since 1988. "I think the film industry is over as we know it."

The filmmakers left in Hong Kong are no less pessimistic. Sitting in the lobby of the Hyatt Hotel in the Wan-chai neighborhood, Gordon Chan, a top Hong Kong director who has made movies with Jet Li ("Fist of Legend") and Jackie Chan ("Thunderbolt"), has all the time in the world, a fact that's very depressing to a director who once cranked out three films a year.

Gordon Chan's most recent movie, the police action drama "Beast Cops," is generally acknowledged as one of the best Hong Kong films of 1998. But that apparently isn't going to do him any good. "I just talked to

stars were forced to accept roles in triad-backed productions. Then came the pirate-VCD market, which has robbed the Hong Kong industry of an estimated 40 percent of its business, forcing theater and video rental chains to close. As if things weren't bad enough, the Asian economic downturn hit, slashing movie budgets and destroying crucial ancillary markets and sources of investment in places like South Korea and Taiwan.

Instead of sticking around to help clean up the mess, many of Hong Kong's biggest stars fled for a better shore. Actors like Chow Yun-Fat ("Replacement Killers") have pledged not to return until they see better scripts. At last count, there were at least 17 Hong Kong actors and directors working on projects in Hollywood — from Jet Li in "Lethal Weapon 4" to Mr. Woo directing Tom Cruise in "Mission Impossible 2" to Michelle Yeoh landing a starring role in "Charlie's Angels." And where Hong Kong directors once remade Hollywood hits, now Hollywood is remaking Hong Kong films. Jim Carrey, for example, just agreed to remake the Hong Kong comedy "God of Cookery," with the Hong Kong star Stephen Chiu as director. "They are like paintings left in the sun," Bey Logan, a producer and screenwriter and the author of "Hong Kong Action Movies," says of Hong Kong films. "They keep getting paler and paler."

It has been a year since the British handed control of Hong Kong over to China, and although this transition doesn't seem to have intimidated directors politically, it has led many of them to gear their films toward mainland China in the belief that the last hope for Hong Kong cinema is to find an audience in China. Currently, China lets in only 10 foreign films a year — and it still considers Hong Kong a foreign country.

"Except during World War II, when the film industry came to a total stop during the Japanese invasion, it's never been as bad as it is now," says Paul Fonoroff, a film critic for The South China Morning Post who has reviewed more than 700 Hong Kong films since 1988. "I think the film industry is over as we know it."

The filmmakers left in Hong Kong are no less pessimistic. Sitting in the lobby of the Hyatt Hotel in the Wan-chai neighborhood, Gordon Chan, a top Hong Kong director who has made movies with Jet Li ("Fist of Legend") and Jackie Chan ("Thunderbolt"), has all the time in the world, a fact that's very depressing to a director who once cranked out three films a year.

Gordon Chan's most recent movie, the police action drama "Beast Cops," is generally acknowledged as one of the best Hong Kong films of 1998. But that apparently isn't going to do him any good. "I just talked to



A ticket taker at the Empire Cinema in Kowloon waits as a lone patron buys a ticket for "Love Generation."

frame had been shot. As a result, directors got lazy and shot films without scripts, and all-purpose pop stars like Andy Lau appeared in as many as 12 movies a year.

**E**VEN worse, the triads became heavily involved in the industry, pressuring stars to appear in films for which they were providing the money. Actors and other film professionals who refused to cooperate were reportedly kidnapped, raped and even, in the case of two producers, killed.

Now, the triads are more interested in making money from VCD sales than in film production, and the industry is looking desperately for new sources of investment now that gangster, local film studio and foreign money has dried up. Virtually anyone with money to invest — bankers, construction workers — can finance a film by a major director. Gordon Chan, for example, says that his next film is being paid for by the management team of a factory.

In an attempt to fight this state of affairs, Mr. Chan and four other directors have formed a group called Creative Alliance. The organization is trying to find new sources of revenue so that they can regain control of their films and focus on restoring the standards of Hong Kong film and bringing audiences back into the theaters.

"What we're trying to do is give alternatives," says Mr. Chan. "But to be honest, we are not very optimistic. We still think the market is going to go lower because so much less money is being invested in it."

"There's no way to sustain a film industry, and there's no point in rushing to the production line with more movies that are going to be pirated. We need to wait and see what's happening and then find the solutions. The Creative Alliance is to tell everybody that in the meantime we're still alive."

Back across the harbor, in Kowloon's Tsim Sha Tsui neighborhood, Clarence Fok, the director of the cult-classic film "Naked Killer," sits and stares at his latest work on an Avid editing machine. On the monitor, two characters sit across from each other in a room bathed in lime green and deep purple. One fires a gun from underneath a glass table, and as shards of glass scatter in slow motion, a bullet hits the other man in the forehead. He stares at the camera for a moment, then topples over, with blood squirting thickly out of the wound.

The flamboyant, denim-clad Mr. Fok watches the scene rapidly and then announces proudly, "Cheap."

Adam Chan, Mr. Fok's stunt choreographer, shakes his head. "I can create 10 good scenes like that," he says. "But all they have the money for now is two or three."

In a time when annual film production here has been cut in half (from more than 200 films five years ago to fewer than 80), Mr. Fok is still busy. Producers like him because he comes in on budget, he gives the people what they want (sexy women and stylized gunplay), and he works fast. This year, Mr. Fok plans to crank out five films, spending two months on each and giving them titles like "A Better Tomorrow 98" and "Naked Killer 2" to capitalize on past Hong Kong successes.

"I think of them like exercises," he says of the movies. "Out of these five experiments — all are sensational with sex, seduction and violence — I want to work toward something new. Then I want to spend some time in America and learn more about stunts, effects and camera movements so I can go into another stage of my filmmaking." His one-man plan to save the Hong Kong film business also involves searching China for a young male actor and mold-

ing him into a new martial-arts star.

Mr. Fok is one of the lucky filmmakers remaining here. In this financial and artistic recession, he gets his scripts and money from one of the few people in Hong Kong film who still has access to money: Wong Jing. Mr. Jing is a populist director and producer who helped turn the work of innovative Hong Kong filmmakers like John Woo and Tsui Hark into likeable and successful, albeit formulaic, movies. As his colleagues jumped ship for the cash and cachet of Hollywood, he stayed behind to become the king of Hong Kong film.

Last month, "The Storm Riders," a special effects-filled film he produced, actually beat the record set by "Jurassic Park: The Lost World" for first-day ticket sales. With a budget of \$10 million, it is a Hong Kong equivalent of "Titanic."

The other hope for Hong Kong cinema this year is "Enter the Eagles,"

the debut of Shannon Lee, the daughter of Bruce Lee. "The Storm Riders" is attempting to steal an audience back by imitating Hollywood special effects. "Enter the Eagles" is trying to emulate another Hollywood approach: a glib marketing campaign meant to turn a film into an event, the result of a new deal between Hong Kong's biggest studio, Golden Harvest, and the marketing company DBB. Though it might seem as if these companies have deep pockets, the truth is that Golden Harvest reported a \$6 million dollar loss in the first half of this year and last month laid off 70 employees.

Even Jackie Chan, Hong Kong's perennial action star, is suffering in Hong Kong. About to appear in the United States with Chris Tucker in "Rush Hour," he's hoping he can gain some new knowledge to help reinvent himself in Hong Kong movies. At home, he is offering \$130,000 to any-

one who can write him a good script. Good scripts, an element lacking even in some of the best Hong Kong films, are what many feel will help restore audience faith in Hong Kong films — especially because they cost a lot less than special effects, an arena in which Hong Kong will never really be able to compete with Hollywood.

The bright side of this grim situation is that the defections to Hollywood and the shrinking budgets have created an atmosphere in which younger directors and actors have a chance to compete — and to be creative with their art direction and camerawork. Wong Kar-Wai, the director of visually innovative, cerebral films like "Chungking Express" and the recent "Happy Together," has gained enough international prominence to keep working regularly. But beyond him, young, talented directors like Fruit Chan, Eric Kot and Wai Ka-Fai are coming into their own, making either experimental narratives or offbeat portraits of youth culture.

But this burst of originality may be too late. Already, the period of Hong Kong film from the late 1980's to the early 90's has been categorized and filed away as "the golden age of Hong Kong film," as if it were the equivalent of the New Wave for France. Some say that Hong Kong films will flourish once again as soon as the economy in Asia improves and a handful of new stars and auteurs appear. But most industry insiders here are pessimistic, believing that Hong Kong will become like Taiwan or Mexico, just another third-world country from which a movie or director of note occasionally emerges.

Times are hard," says Richard To, the head of the Hong Kong Film Critics Society. "And the future is still very unclear. A lot depends on whether the mainland Chinese market will be more open than now to Hong Kong films. And a lot matters on whether pirate VCD's can be stopped. Otherwise, there's simply no hope."

Perhaps the best evidence of this comes during an elevator conversation with the assistant of a Hong Kong director. Asked if he wants to become a director, he replies quickly, "No way." After a few seconds of silence, he shyly adds, "Are you interested in buying a digital camera while you're here? I can sell you one for very cheap."

## FOURSOMES

By NANCY NICHOLSON JOLINE / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

## ACROSS

1 Court conference

6 Cakes of a sort

13 Gotham City do-gooder

19 It began around 1100 B.C. in Europe

20 Fires

21 In a New York minute

22 1960's foursome

23 Monumental foursome

25 1996 Tony winner

26 Tight

27 You wouldn't want to be caught in one

28 Bean

29 Singer in a field

32 — Varner, Faulkner woman

33 German electricity-producing city

35 Baseball star

36 Photographer Goldin

37 Silent

39 Tin Pan Alley org.

44 Noncash deposit

45 Literary foursome

48 — Van

49 Semiannual occurrence

51 Components of some campaigns

52 Country club figure

53 Pitch

54 Ransom — Olds

55 Fields of activity

57 Certain turn-on

58 "O For a Thousand Tongues" composer

59 Changes a file listing, e.g.

61 Not staccato

62 French F.B.I.

67 Con: Var.

68 Critical foursome

71 White wine aperitif

72 Native-born Israeli

75 Fenway Park locale

76 Their words are divine

80 Get via roving eyes

81 Outwits

83 Tex-Mex snacks

85 "Eldorado" rock group

86 Bicker in the "flad"

87 — de Triomphe

88 "We — the World"

90 Rocky Mountain

92 Bankrolls

93 Court foursome

98 Dedicated

97 Symbols of obstinacy

99 A "Doctor Zhivago" setting

100 One of Ophelia's flowers

101 Tennis legend Lacoste

102 Super Bowl XXXII outcome

## DOWN

1 Rival, perhaps

2 Dander

3 Edmond O'Brien film noir, 1950

4 Consigns

5 Bundles

6 Mulder of "The X-Files," for one

7 Word with cure or room

8 Barbecue

9 Overdid the flattery

10 Jolly Roger feature

11 Like Radio City

12 Latvia, once: Abbr.

13 Ellington contemporary

14 Greek Minerva

15 Nursery rhyme boy

16 Alphabetical foursome

17 Prefix with phobia

18 Indigence

20 Total

24 Overcoats

29 Inferior

30 Jim Palmer was one

31 Yuletide foursome

32 Like Baby Bear's porridge

34 Noted alpine tunnel

36 Like Miss Congeniality

38 Cries on seeing a cute baby

40 Like "The Bonfire of the Vanities"

41 Lucky foursome

42 It may be fixed

43 Oater group

45 Bills paid in Italy

46 Surgeons' tools

47 Signs of approval

50 Bucs' home

56 Ken-L Ration competitor

60 Lackland, e.g.

62 Rod

63 Does penance

64 The housewife in "Diary of a Mad Housewife"

66 Decree

69 Way out of the public eye

70 "Get outta here!"

72 Either end of Alaska

73 Parts

74 Variety of herring

## ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

CAR ADELA RASP ADAGIO  
 ADO GENUS ENTO REMORA  
 TANTANOSHANTER SPIGOT  
 SHARTEST NELEES ANON  
 ANA FRAGED THROB  
 CARGANOPENER FOOTRACE  
 ALICE STUBS SALONE HOL  
 STARS MOLE LOG DRAHA  
 TOT CHOPCHORQUEY ANAT  
 GOALS ERROR ESTATE  
 DETERGE NOE VALISSE  
 EYONNE ALINE HARIO  
 FERS NONONENSENSE IAN  
 INTER UNP GDI BAISE  
 ELO ESTOPS ROIST FLIT  
 SYMMETRY GMOVCHOVINE  
 TANGO DRESS REO  
 CHIT WIRES BARNACLE  
 SOUSED BYRVEELECTION  
 FILMIRA LENT STONE ALT  
 ATREST ERSE SHUTS OLD





The exhibit, which runs until Sept. 20, chronicles the changing face of Israel's first half-century.

## Made in Israel

Souvenirs that American tourists bring back from Israel say more about the buyer than the country that produced them, Sue Fishkoff learns at a Jewish museum in Berkeley

It was the small pile of *ashmonim* that got me. Back in the olden days, before cellular phones and espresso bars, these small silvery tokens with the hole in the middle would, together with a whispered prayer, get you a connection from a pay phone. I wore one around my neck for years, my own private memento of happy college days tilling the fields as a kibbutz volunteer.

Now I was looking at a half-dozen *ashmonim* in a museum display case, phone tokens that another American tourist had brought back from her own trip to Israel, and I wondered, what made her bring them back? Who was she, and who did she call? What memories did this handful of tokens contain, to make them so precious?

These are exactly the questions they want you to ask at "Souvenirs From Israel, 1948-1998," an innovative exhibition at the Judah Magnes Museum in Berkeley, California comprised of souvenirs brought back to the US by tourists, students, pilgrims and business travelers from the San Francisco Bay area over the past 50 years.

The Magnes Museum, founded in 1962 as the first Jewish museum in the western United States, is now the country's third largest Jewish museum and the first to mount an exhibit examining the nature and meaning of souvenirs from Israel.

The objects on display chronicle the changing face of Israel's first half-century, but more important, they suggest about the evolving relationship between Israel and the American visitor: How have Americans' dreams and hopes about the Jewish state been reflected in the objects they buy to bring home with them?

This is not just a study in nostalgia," says

Michal Friedlander, the museum's curatorial director of Judaica, and curator of this exhibition. "It's a critical survey of what people have brought back. What makes something a souvenir? Why do we collect it?"

The objects on display are as diverse as the visitors who collected them.

There are bottles of water from the Jordan River and silver candlesticks from Mea Shearim, paintings of dancing Hasidim and tee-shirts with Coca-Cola in Hebrew letters, IDF memorabilia and fly-

community, Jewish and non-Jewish. She put out the call to synagogues, religious groups, tour operators and Jewish and Catholic newspapers.

Donations poured in quickly. Friedlander says she accepted virtually everything that was offered, except for duplications, and in many cases included the donor's story of where and why the object was acquired.

Thus the exhibit shows the small red stone from somewhere in the Golan Heights, donated by San Francisco Bay Area resident Alisa Metzger. She picked it up in 1994 on the road where her bus stopped for the Holocaust Remembrance Day national siren and everyone piled out of the bus to stand at attention.

"It was the most moving experience, because I knew that the whole country had come to a halt," she writes on the display card. "I must have reached down just because I wanted to be even more connected to Israel, and picked up a handful of dirt. When I got back on the bus and opened my hand, I looked at this rock. I've kept it ever since."

Souvenirs affirm the traveler's connection to Israel. It may be a connection to the holy places of the Bible, or to the Zionist ideal. Bringing back a physical reminder of that bond, be it a Coke bottle filled with desert sand, or an ersatz IDF uniform, acts as a constant reaffirmation of the individual's membership in that collective history.

Looking at the object afterwards, touching it, or wearing it, triggers some of the emotions felt during the actual journey. Often, the image Americans have of Israel bears little

resemblance to everyday life in Holon; they choose souvenirs that reinforce their own idealized image, not mundane reality. "Americans have a certain conception of what Israel is, or should be," Friedlander says. "They bring back souvenirs that validate that conception."

Thus we have the kibbutz dolls, dressed in Hashomer Hatzair blue workshirts; the "I Love Israel" key chains; the hackneyed paintings of Yemenite rabbis or starry-eyed pioneers, souvenirs that reflect American Jews' longing for a heroic Israel they can pack in their suitcase and own forever.

The exhibit is laid out like a home, with the souvenirs displayed in the room where they are most likely to be found.

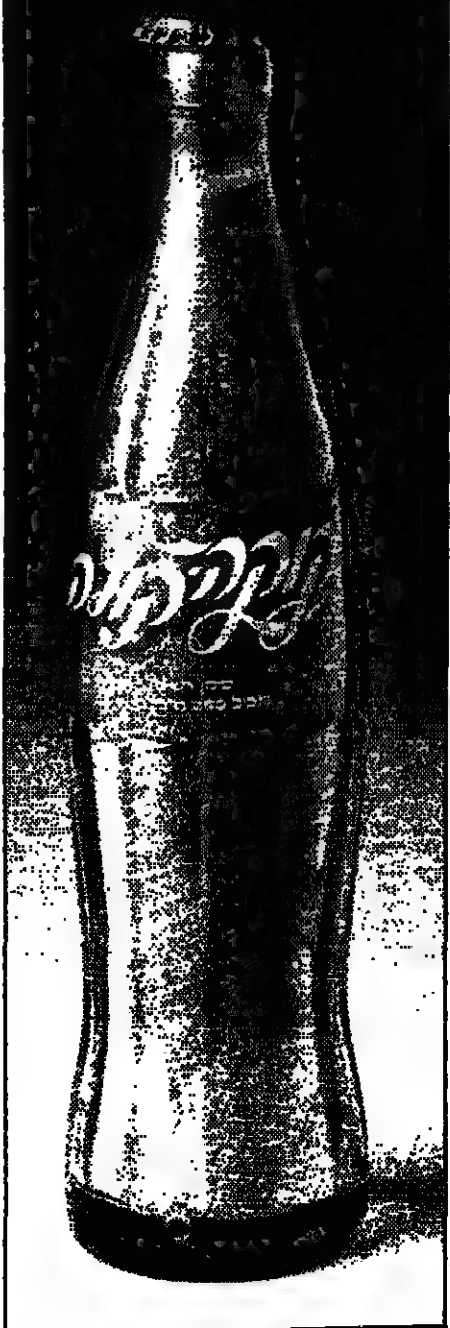
The "dining room" displays Jewish ritual objects, while the "kitchen" contains empty bags of Tnuva milk, and the



(Above) Golda Meir doll acquired in Israel by Agathe Glaser, 1969 (Below) Coca-Cola bottle containing sand from the Sinai acquired in Israel by Kathy Morris, 1981.

"teenager's bedroom" boasts a humorous tee-shirt display along with Maccabee beer bottles and items "liberated" from Jerusalem hotel rooms.

The entrance to the exhibition is where Friedlander chose to exhibit donations



from non-Jewish travelers, mostly Christians.

She had hoped to attract more souvenirs from non-Jews, who comprise 60% of all American tourists to Israel, and a whopping 78% of tourists from the West Coast. But she ended up with just a handful of mostly religious items from Christians.

The kitch factor here is incredibly high, captured most succinctly by a hologram-effect Jesus on the Cross whose eyes open and shut in anguish as the viewer moves past. A four-inch olive wood crucifix in this room triggered an unexpected scandal two weeks before the exhibit opened in early July.

Mitzi Cahn, an Orthodox woman who had donated about one-quarter of the exhibit's approximately 250 pieces, pulled out her entire collection to protest the inclusion of a crucifix that she said Jews would be compelled to walk past. The museum administration defended Friedlander's decision, the crucifix stayed, and Friedlander had to scramble like mad at the last minute to fill in the gaps.

Another aspect of the Israel-Diaspora relationship highlighted in this fascinating exhibition is the growth of an entire Israeli industry devoted to manufacturing objects for tourists' consumption.

"Demand for Jewish ritual objects 'made in Israel' has led to the development of a thriving Judaica market - stores and sometimes neighborhoods that sell things no Israeli would buy.

Druse and Beduin villages derive a significant portion of their income from selling "authentic" dresses, pots and furniture to American tourists - objects that have never and would never be used in a Druse or Beduin home, and that are often not even made in Israel.

But they have that Israel "feel," and Americans bring them home in abundance.

Friedlander tells a story related to her by one woman who donated a Beduin souvenir to the exhibit.

The woman was outside the Old City of Jerusalem, where she was confronted by a small Arab boy hawking strings of olive-wood camels. He was waving the camels and shouting, "Made in Hong Kong," with great pride.

The woman said, "I'm from San Francisco, why would I want camels made in Hong Kong?" So, with a great show of care, the boy rummaged around in his bag and dragged out another string of camels, exactly like the first, and brandished it with glee, shouting, "Made in San Francisco!"

Me, I'll take the Golda Meir puppet.

## Why did the old lady cross the street?

Clara Rimon was on a train going to Haifa. A young man took the seat next to her. His shirt was dirty. He removed it, placed an inflatable tub on her lap, poured in a bottle of water and some detergent, scrubbed the shirt clean, and put it back on before arriving in Haifa.

Even for a New York native like Clara, this was bizarre behavior. Old timers might remember that scene: it was a commercial for Textil detergent that ran in cinemas in the 1970s.

By now, just about everyone in the country knows Clara Rimon's face - she is the classic sweet-little-old-lady of numerous ads on TV, in theaters and in the press, including the *Post*.

The country is crawling with sultry, willowy, breathtaking young beauties, but sometimes you just gotta have a cute, moon-faced, 80-year-old granny type, barely five feet tall and with a range of expressions that runs from carefree and prim to impish and devilish.

Kapulsky's, ran around with a camera at a birthday party for Agfa, drank instant soup "for Telma or Osem, I forget which," stepped into a rowboat for Clal Pharm, leaped onto a waterbed for Tambour paints. Oh yeah, and she parachuted for Osem cakes.

"Oh, my best commercial! I had to come down in a parachute. You know, somebody drops in on you unexpectedly... so there's a couple sitting on the sofa, and I come right down in between them. I was really parachuted, there was a harness underneath my dress. They pulled me up to the ceiling, and then they dropped me down. They did that about 50 times, and each time I took a bite of cake; another take, another piece of cake."

She wrinkles her nose at the trend in ads these days. "It's all flash-flash-flash. It's worthless, you don't even remember what the product is. It doesn't leave an impression." She prefers longer commercial.

Not Page One



Sam Orbaum

She stepped into a rowboat for ClalPharm, leaped onto a waterbed for Tambour paints and parachuted for Osem cakes

That's when Clara gets the call.

In fact, just as our interview ended on Wednesday, the phone in her Holon home rang. The Transport Ministry needed Clara. In a few weeks you'll see her - safely getting on and off a bus, then safely crossing the street at a crosswalk.

She was not exactly groomed from childhood for an acting career.

"I was born a socialist, a Laborite, a unionist," she says, guiltlessly admitting that she now works in the teeth of capitalism. "Oh, I know it's terrible. What I'd really like to do is advertise socialism."

She came here in 1946 from Brooklyn with her Toronto-born husband Nahum, both of them firebrand Zionists committed to the humble ideologies of the day. Urging the public to buy, buy, buy would come much later, when she was at an age when most people wind down toward retirement.

Occasionally, her politics intrude on her work. "I hated it at first. This was not what I made aliyah to do."

"Years ago, I was asked to do a still for Kupat Holim. It never occurred to me to ask which one. And I ended up doing a commercial for Maccabi, or Meuhedet - I was furious! Oh my God, I'm doing a commercial for the competition! I'm a member of the Histadrut!"

Her most recent job was a Channel 2 ad for Bank Hapoalim, in which she stands under an umbrella while lots of people sing in the rain. The client may be ideologically kosher, but, like most Israelis, she hates the banks.

"There should be a law against those banks," she says hotly. Ah, but Clara, you promoted it, no? Was there no moral dilemma?

She thinks about that for a long moment, then smiles sweetly. It's the kind of smile little old ladies use to get away with just about anything.

"I sold my soul. But I got paid for it."

But there is a line she will not cross. "I would never advertise the Likud."

She brushed her teeth for Elmax, sipped cappuccino for

cial that tell a little story. "The one I like is the Electric Corporation ad, because it's the only one in which I have a speaking part. I say, 'There's somebody at the door.' He says, 'Oh, it's just the guy from Hevrat Hahashmal.' And I say, 'Oh, maybe you'd better ask him' - because you're supposed to be suspicious of people poking around pretending to be from Hevrat Hahashmal."

They don't usually let her open her mouth because there's still a negligible trace of an American accent. But she has acted in two Hebrew plays. She also appeared in a film, shot in Berlin and never shown here, playing a withered old peasant at a Russian abortion clinic.

Recognition is a fun byproduct of the work. Her daughter once entered a darkened cinema, with the advertisements already under way. The first thing she saw on the big screen "was me. She was with her boyfriend, and she shouted 'That's my mother! That's my mother!'"

She loves acting, and doesn't mind being typecast as a sweet little old lady - well, she can hardly object. What do you expect, that she'd be one of the infamous Grapefruit Ladies?

Actually, she was. It was perhaps the most famous - and notorious - commercial in Israeli history. The grapefruit ad was eventually junked in response to widespread cries of sexism.

It was designed to, uh, tart up the image of the forlorn grapefruit, but the wave of braasty beauties bouncing about in tight yellow T-shirts rankled as many people as it excited.

Clara was the ad's punchline. She was sitting on a park bench with her "husband," who jumped to his feet, lurching toward the approaching bombshells. Clara grabbed him, sat him down, pulled out from her purse a half (!) grapefruit, and gave it to him with a naive expression that seemed to say, "Nu? It's a piece of grapefruit you want?"

She's not insulted if you only remember the bazooms, and not the wrinkled old lady. After all, who remembers their faces?

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## VEHICLES

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## VEHICLES

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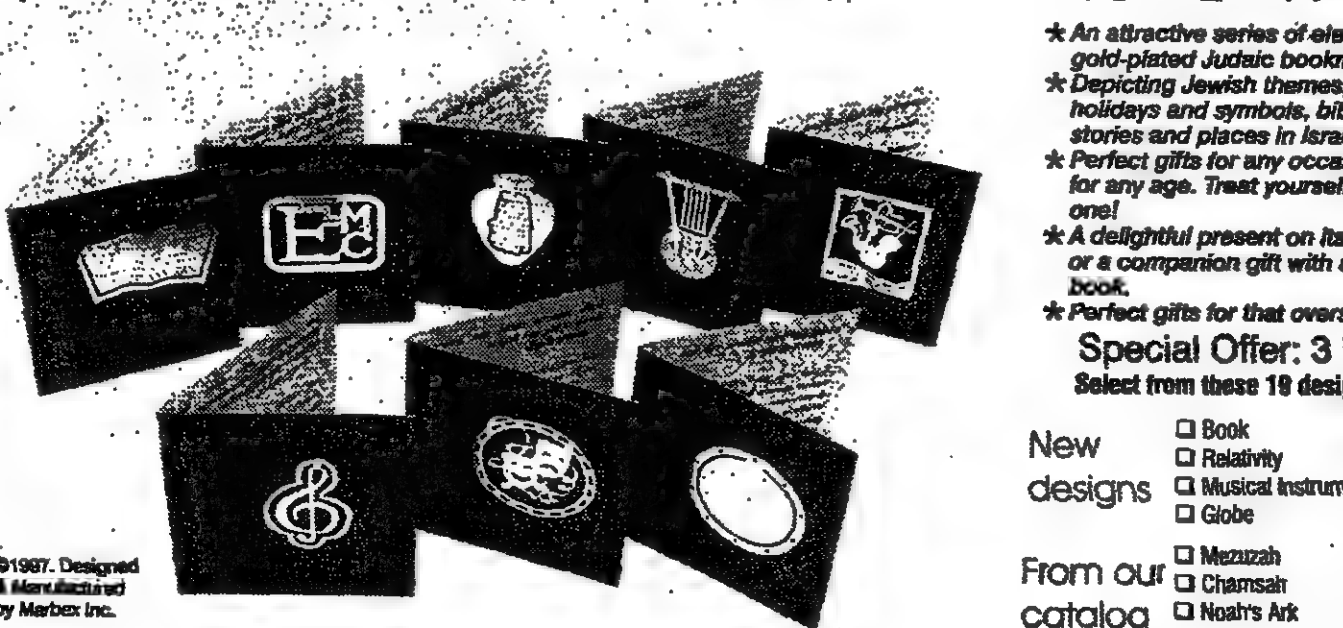
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Monday,  
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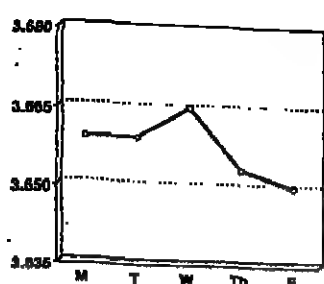
# BUSINESS & FINANCE

19

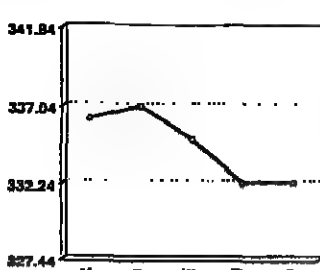
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in brief

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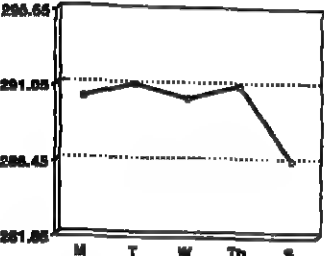


MAOF INDEX



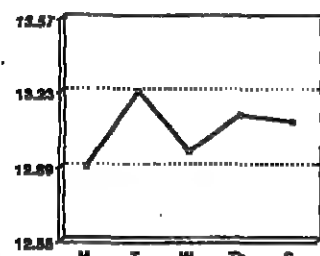
GOLD

\$ per ounce

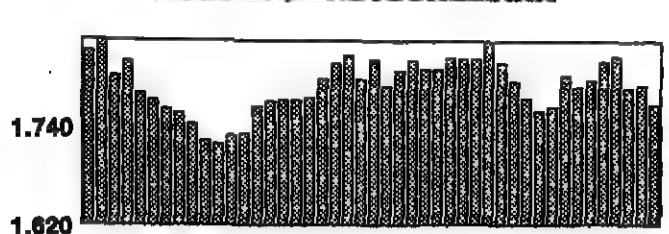


OIL

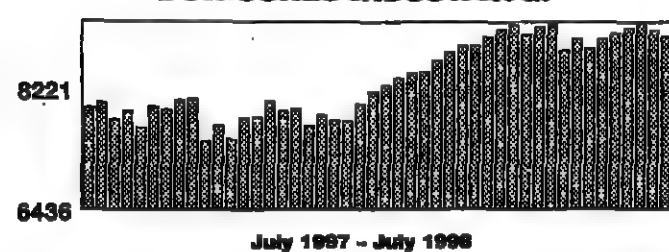
\$ per barrel of Brent crude



DOLLAR / DEUTSCHEMARK



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### Kolber considers pay cut

Koor CEO Jonathan Kolber, Israel's highest paid executive, is considering reducing his monthly salary from NIS 300,000 to NIS 150,000, according to financial sources.

On the other hand, the bonuses to which he will be entitled are expected to increase up to 100%, based on future profitability and other criteria yet to be decided. Based on conditions recently approved, Kolber will be entitled to a bonus of up to NIS 200,000.

The new conditions are expected to be submitted for board approval within days, but sources close to Kolber say that he has yet to decide about adopting them.

Globes News Service

### PM, ministers to discuss EU ties

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu will meet economics ministers and their senior advisers on Thursday to discuss worsening relations with the European Union. The meeting was scheduled for yesterday but postponed for technical reasons, according to a Foreign Ministry official.

The meeting will concentrate on the EU's May call for goods produced in the territories to no longer carry a "made in Israel" label. A statement from the EU's Tel Aviv office said "the question is one of correcting an alleged case of massive fraud." In response, Netanyahu warned Brussels to "be careful with the use of ultimatums and dictates of any kind. That is one thing that doesn't go well in Israel and with me."

David Harris

### Shekel gains 0.46% against dollar in July

The dollar depreciated 0.46 percent to NIS 3.65 against the shekel in July, the Central Bureau of Statistics said yesterday. The basket of major currencies also fell 0.44% against the shekel, with only the French franc and German mark making gains.

David Harris

### Central bank limits credit for buying big firms

The Bank of Israel's supervisor of banks Ze'ev Ables announced new restrictions limiting the credit given by commercial banks for the purchasing of controlling interests in large companies.

According to the new requirements the bank shouldn't grant companies credit which is higher than 100% of the self-equity of the acquired company.

This is valid only for big deals in which the credit given is more than 0.5% of the bank's capital or more than NIS 25 million when the credit is financing more than 70% of the deal.

Dan Gerstenfeld

### The Treasury THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL

Bids are invited for the supply of the following goods, required by various government agencies throughout Israel:

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- Bidders must comply with Israel Standard 847 and submit certification of compliance from the Israel Standards Institution. If the paper is imported, the bidder must enclose confirmation from a recognized institution of compliance with the above Israeli standard.
- Bids may be submitted by a manufacturer or a local supplier authorized by a manufacturer. In any case, the bidder must present authorization by a manufacturer from a manufacturer that he is an authorized agent, and/or confirmation from a manufacturer that he is an authorized agent.
- Bidders must attach a list of five public bodies / institutions, including the names and phone numbers of contact persons, to whom he has supplied paper of different types on a regular basis, during the years 1996-1997 (and indicating the scope of the annual sales).
- The bidder must demonstrate that he has proven capability of supplying paper to all parts of the country.

Last date for submitting bids is Monday, September 7, 1998, at 12 noon.

Applications for the tender documents should be made by fax only, to 02-5317778, giving the following information:

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Additional details from Tel. 02-5317418, 02-5317177, 02-5317428. No undertaking is given to accept the lowest or any bid.

### Budget Director Milgrom:

## Reserves may preclude need for planned '99 budget cut

By DAVID HARRIS

The government may be able to avoid its planned budget cuts for fiscal 1999, according to State Budget Director David Milgrom.

Both expert studies and media reports have been suggesting the Treasury will have to take a NIS 1.5 billion - 2b. cut in order for the government to meet the requirements of the Budget Deficit Law, which stipulates a 1999 deficit no larger than 2 percent of the gross domestic product.

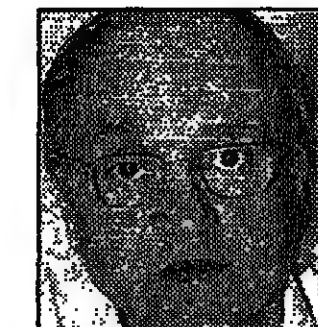
"I don't know that that's the right figure. You must remember there are all sorts of additional funds we have available," Milgrom said, referring to various sums the Treasury keeps in reserve, or that ministries have failed to spend during the current year.

"Because of these additional funds, I'm not sure that there will have to necessarily be a reduction in overall government expenditure. Indeed, there are certain elements of expenditure where there will be increases," he added.

Government sources are suggesting the Treasury has already agreed to increase spending on infrastructure projects and research and development during



David Milgrom (Ariel Jerozolimski)



Yaakov Neeman (Bryan McBurney)



Jacob Frenkel (Brian Hendler)

the course of 1999.

Milgrom was not prepared to enter details of funding, including the likely impact on revenues of the ongoing slowdown in the economy. Given the lack of economic activity, particularly in the construction industry, government receipts from taxes are likely to fall well short of expectations this year and economists are now in agreement that the same will happen next year.

Promising that the budget and budget arrangements bill will aim to encourage growth in the private sector, Milgrom warned this will not take place if the Bank of Israel's present monetary policy

remains in place.

Economic growth cannot resume while [real] interest rates remain around 7 to 8 percent, said Milgrom. "With conditions like this, there is no way the economy will flourish in the second half of 1998 or next year either. No country in the world has been able to grow at 3% or more with rates of 7-8%.

There is increasing antagonism between the central bank and Treasury officials, according to top figures in both organizations. The relationship between Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman and Bank of Israel Governor Jacob Frenkel appears to be the only bright spot, they concurred.

12%, compared to 4.5% last year, according to the report. The one bright spot, the association said, will be the continuing decline of the deficit in the balance of payments - likely to be cut to \$1.2b., compared to \$3.2b. in 1997.

At the same time, Israel Discount Bank yesterday published its macroeconomic forecast for the remainder of the year. Economic growth will reach 2%, according to the bank's economists. Key to increasing growth in 1999 will be the numbers of tourists entering the country. In the first five months of the year, the number of foreign tourists was down 10% on the comparable figure last year, taking 1% off the business sector product. The bank is of the opinion that the other key to renewed growth will be increased domestic demand.

Despite the bad news, the bank said the economy is still in better shape today than it was between 1994 and 1995, half-way through the previous government's tenure.

The next macroeconomic debate between Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Neeman is scheduled for Thursday, when the two are expected to finalize their proposals for next year's budget.



### Forum for growth

Manufacturers Association president Dan Propper (left) chats with his predecessors, Eli Hurvitz (center) and Dov Lautman, at a meeting on Friday in Tel Aviv where they established an advisory board to lead a forum of business and industrial leaders and professors on spurring economic growth.

## Real estate deals down 12% so far this year

The crisis in the real estate market is deepening, according to Income Tax Commission data. According to the figures, a sharp 12 percent drop in the number of real estate deals has been recorded since the beginning of 1998, and a 25% decline compared to the first half of 1996.

From January to July this year, only 72,000 real estate transactions were conducted, compared to 82,000 in January-July 1997, and 96,000 in the same period in

1996. According to the data, there was a sharp decline of 12% in revenue from property taxes and an 8% decline in revenue from betterment and purchase taxes from January through June this year, compared with the corresponding period last year.

Revenues from property taxes in the first seven months of 1998 were 16% lower than in the same period in 1996, while revenues from betterment and purchase

taxes were 36% lower.

The decline reflects the slowdown in the construction industry and the sharp reduction in the number of real estate and residential deals.

According to the Housing

Ministry, building starts in the first half of this year were down 26%. (Globes News Service)

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2



# Singletary, Munoz, McDonald inducted into pro grid Hall of Fame

CANTON, Ohio (AP) — Anthony Munoz sniffed back sobs after his 17-year-old son introduced him. Paul Krause cried openly when speaking of his wife's recovery from a devastating car accident.

As usual, Tommy McDonald did things a little differently. His induction speech was a cross between a sermon, a monologue and a rock concert.

Taking different paths to the podium, they were inducted into the Pro Football Hall of Fame yesterday, along with Mike Singletary and Dwight Stephenson.

"Oh baby!" shouted McDonald, the former Philadelphia Eagles receiver and smallest Hall of Famer at 5-foot-9. "Do I look excited, like I just won the lottery or the jackpot? Yes! I'm in the Hall of Fame!"

The talented — and entertaining — class brought the hall's membership to 194, with 50 in attendance, including Lou Groza, Gale Sayers and fan favorite Art Donovan.

McDonald stole the show, improvising and scampering around just as he did during 12 seasons with Philadelphia, Dallas, the Los Angeles Rams, Atlanta and Cleveland.

He abandoned the usually serious tone of induction speeches — cracking jokes about his wife, losing his bronze bust around like a football, even pulling a radio out of a briefcase and holding it to the microphone. After dancing to the disco of the Bee Gees, McDonald introduced his fellow inductees with loud shrieks, high fives and chest bumps.

"Thank you Canton! I love it!" he said. This class alone would provide the nucleus of an awesome Pro Bowl team. From their youthful looks and still-chiseled bodies, Munoz, Stephenson and Singletary could probably line up in the high school parking lot next door and play a few snaps.

"I don't consider eight years necessarily a short career, but it's not a long one," said Stephenson, 40, whose career was cut short by a knee injury. "I hoped that what I did in that amount of time would be enough to get me in."

Munoz, 46, 278 pounds, was one of the best offensive tackles ever to play. His glittering career with the Cincinnati Bengals included 11 consecutive Pro



IMMORTALIZED — Former Miami Dolphins center Dwight Stephenson (l) stands with former coach Don Shula, who presented him, at yesterday's Pro Football Hall of Fame inductions.

Bowls, and he was elected to the hall in his first year of eligibility. Known for his flawless technique and tenacity, Munoz holds his less-than-gracious touchdown receptions among his fondest memories.

For example, he caught one from a rookie quarterback named Boomer Esiason for the Bengals in 1984.

"The defense knew, the whole stadium knew because the microphone came on and said, '78 eligible,'" Munoz said.

"Everyone knew I was going to run a route — or I should say, waddle. They called it 78 delay," Krause was considered one of the top outfield prospects in the country while at the University of

Iowa. But a shoulder separation in a football game against Michigan limited his throwing ability and turned him into a free safety.

In four years with Washington and 12 with the Minnesota Vikings' dominating defenses of the 1960s and '70s, he had an NFL-record 81 interceptions.

His wife, Pam, is recovering from a car accident 2½ years ago that left her in a coma for more than five days and close to death.

Krause wept as she was helped to her feet to acknowledge an ovation. "We've been through some tough times lately, but we've stuck together because we love each other," Krause said.

Singletary spent 12 hard-hitting years as a linebacker with the Chicago Bears. Known for his intense eyes and rigorous game preparation, he was the soul of the Bears' stingy defense, finishing first or second in tackles 11 years in a row and playing in 10 Pro Bowls.

Stephenson starred at a center for a series of high-scoring Miami Dolphins teams from 1980-87. Alabama's Paul "Bear" Bryant called him the best center he ever coached, and Don Shula called him the best center who ever played. But Stephenson frequently stood in the shadows while lesser players and more colorful characters grabbed the headlines.

Coaches Shula and Jerry Burns introduced Stephenson and Krause, respectively, with sports writer and producer Ray Didinger presenting McDonald.

Commissioner Paul Tagliabue, booed mildly by Ohioans still waiting for the Cleveland Browns to get back onto the field, paid tribute to Hall of Famer Doak Walker, who was paralyzed in a January skiing accident.

Packers 27, Chiefs 24 Ryan Longwell kicked a 27-yard field goal 10 minutes into sudden death overtime yesterday, giving Green Bay a 27-24 victory over Kansas City in Tokyo in front of 42,018 enthusiastic fans.

In the annual Hall of Fame exhibition game at Canton, the Tampa Bay Buccaneers beat the Pittsburgh Steelers 30-6.

Iron and Sheffer losing 2-8 and 21-12 to Denison and Alcock respectively, tension among the England supporters mounted as Israel's players fought valiantly in the remaining four games.

Rabkin recorded Israel's first win when he beat Grant Burgess 21-20 in a nail-biting finish, after peels 20-11, and Rabkin previously down 8-16 and 17-20.

Bekler got Israel's second dramatic win against Rob Stanley, when after leading 14-4, Stanley went 20-18 ahead. Bekler then scored a three to win 21-20.

Bransky, trailing 2-12 to an in-top form Greg Moon came back strongly to narrow the gap to 17-19, his opponent however coming through to ease English tension for a 21-17 win.

Simultaneously, Roy Jennings down 15-4, came back in typical fighting form to close the gap to 18-17 but yet again England's Andy Wills (winner of the Hong-Kong pairs) delighted his supporters to win 21-17 and clinch the match for England 6-2 and the Test series 2-1.

Israel then up 3-2, needed three wins from the six singles matches to win the series. While two of the games went comfortably to England, for the six singles games had to be played in the adjacent indoor green.

This further disadvantaged the Israelis, however, Jennings recorded the visitors' only win against top international Brent Morley, 21-13. Rabkin lost 21-20 to John Bell and Bransky lost 21-20 to Bantock.

Israel started off the final Test in fine style. Rabkin with Sheffer and Iron up against world champion Tony Alcock, beat his world championship conqueror 20-16.

Bransky, with Jennings and Bekler went down 19-9 to Danny Denison. Again in the pairs and in similar fashion, Rabkin/Iron gave Alcock/Wills no free-way to win 21-11 after 12-10 up at the 15th end.

Sheffer/Jennings lost 21-11 to Denison but Bransky/Bekler gave Israel their second win 22-16, despite their opponents coming back from 16-3 down to narrow the gap to 19-15.

Israel then up 3-2, needed three wins from the six singles matches to win the series. While two of the games went comfortably to England, Lithuania, which fell to 3-1 and out of the unbeaten ranks with a 71-61 loss to the Australia. The win moved Australia — the Goodwill Games silver medalists — to 2-2 and kept hopes alive for the Boomers of a coveted quarterfinal berth.

At 4-0, European champion Yugoslavia boasts the tournament's best record although Spain and Greece could have each matched it in late games Sunday as Spain faced

Yugoslavs stay unbeaten at world hoops tourney

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Brazil and Greece played Puerto Rico. Yugoslavia had three in double figures and saw all 12 players score, topped by Miroslav Beric with 13 points and Dejan Tomasevic with 14 rebounds.

Yugoslavia barged to a 44-23 half-time advantage with trademark dominating defense. It added the dagger with a 19-2 run against Canada (1-3) early in the second half and led by as many as 43.

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## SPORTS

in brief

### Heys sets 50 meters breaststroke record

NEW YORK (Reuters) — Double Olympic champion Penny Heyns set a world 50 meters breaststroke record en route to winning the 100 at the Goodwill Games on Saturday but was then unable to claim a \$50,000 bonus.

South African Heyns, swimming for the world team against the US, clocked 30.95 seconds at the 50 meters mark, bettering the previous best of 31.58 set by East German Silke Homer 10 years ago.

Last January, the world governing body FINA approved world records in the 50 meters backstroke, 50 meters breaststroke and 50 meters butterfly. Previously they had been recognized as world bests.

Heyns, though, found to her chagrin that she was ineligible for the \$50,000 bonus awarded for world records at the Games because the 50 meters breaststroke was not one of the listed events.

### Parnevik thrills home crowd with 3-shot win

STOCKHOLM (Reuters) — Jesper Parnevik thrilled a 30,000-strong home gallery with his second Scandinavian Masters title in four years yesterday, beating Darren Clarke by three strokes.

Parnevik completed a successful two events away from his US Tour base by collecting the £133,330 first prize two weeks after finishing joint fourth in the British Open.

Parnevik needed only a one-under-par 70 to win comfortably on 11-under-par 273.

Clarke, whose wife Heather is soon to give birth to their first child, never got to terms with his task of making up a two-shot deficit to Parnevik from the third round. He shot a 71.

### Forest reject Hooijdonk's transfer request

NOTTINGHAM (Reuters) — Nottingham Forest's Dutch World Cup striker Pieter van Hooijdonk has had a transfer request turned down.

Van Hooijdonk asked for a move after criticizing Forest's decision to sell his strike partner Kevin Campbell to Turkish side Trabzonspor. He also said Forest, promoted last season, were not good enough to survive in the English premier league.

Forest manager Dave Bassett said: "Pierre signed a five-year contract when he joined us from Celtic and he's still got four of that to run. We're not making him available. We want him to stay."

### Gillespie joins Boro for £3.5 million

MIDDLESBROUGH (Reuters) — Northern Ireland winger Keith Gillespie joined Middlesbrough from Newcastle for £3.5 million yesterday.

Middlesbrough manager Bryan Robson moved in for the unsettled Gillespie after failing to sign Italian World Cup winger Francesco Moriero from Inter Milan.

Gillespie, who moved to St James's Park from Manchester United in January 1995, had not been offered a new contract by Newcastle after initial talks broke down.

Gillespie, signed on a five-year contract, will make his Middlesbrough debut in a tournament in The Hague next weekend.

### Iranian youth team to compete in US

TEHERAN (Reuters) — A team of young Iranian wrestlers will travel to the US on Thursday to take part in an international tournament.

Quoted by the official news agency IRNA, Iran's wrestling federation said yesterday the team would compete in the world junior freestyle championships in Primm, Nevada, from August 7-10.

Iranian wrestlers have competed in the United States twice this year — in the freestyle World Cup and Goodwill Games.

In February, an American wrestling team participated in the Takhti Cup in Tehran. It was the first US sports team to compete in Iran for 20 years.

### Costa takes eighth title at Generali Open

KITZBUHEL (Reuters) — Weary third seed Albert Costa struggled to clinch his eighth ATP title yesterday with a bland 6-2 1-6 6-2 3-6 6-1 defeat of Italian Andrea Gaudenzi in the Generali Open final.

Costa recorded his maiden tournament win here in 1995 and has never lost a match at the Tyrolean Alpine resort.

In Umag, seventh-seeded Bohdan Ulihrach of the Czech Republic won the \$400,000 Croatia Open by beating best No. 6 Magnus Norman of Sweden 6-3 7-6 (7-0).

### England leave out Croft for final Test

LONDON (Reuters) — England left out off-spinner Robert Croft yesterday in naming their 12 for the final test against South Africa.

The match, starting at Headingley, Leeds, on Thursday, will decide the series currently level at 1-1.

There were no other changes from the squad for the fourth Test at Trent Bridge, Nottingham, where England won by eight wickets to set up the decider.

Croft had been one of 13 players originally selected for Trent Bridge but was released early to play for his county Glamorgan.

Leicestershire's left-arm seamer Alan Mullally was 12th man on that occasion. Now the selectors must decide whether to play him instead of leg-spinner Ian Salisbury at a ground which traditionally does not favor spin.

Middlesex captain Mark Ramprakash is suffering from tonsillitis but is expected to be fit.

England 12: Alec Stewart (captain), Michael Atherton, Mark Butcher, Nasser Hussain, Mark Ramprakash, Graeme Hick, Andrew Flintoff, Dominic Cork, Ian Salisbury, Darren Gough, Angus Fraser, Alan Mullally.

Lockett moves up in AFL career points race

MELBOURNE (AP) — Sydney spearhead Tony Lockett became the second-highest goalscorer in Australian Football League history on Saturday as the Swans beat Geelong in an Australian Rules match.

Lockett booted nine goals to surpass injured Hawthorn full forward Jason Dunstall's career total of 1,252 goals.

And with a career total of 1,256, he is just 43 short of Gordon Coventry's 61-year record of 1,299 goals.

Eight of Lockett's goals came in a brilliant first half as the Swans built a 76-point lead over the Cats before surviving a second-half comeback attempt to win 19.7 (121) to 12.15 (87).

Lockett ended the day on 90 goals for the season, just 10 short of what will be his sixth century of goals in a season.

In three matches yesterday, Essendon beat Carlton 12.12 (84) to 11.12 (78), the West Coast defeated West Australian foes Fremantle 15.9 (99) to 8.12 (60) and Hawthorn had an easy time beating Richmond 10.10 (70) to 4.10 (34).

Andrew McLeod returned from injury to kick three goals as the Adelaide Crows beat St. Kilda 19.23

## We're watching Limor Livnat should do something to give us back 'our' TV sports

Dear Limor, Channel 16 was, until recently, a lifeline of many sports fans, mostly those who came from English-speaking countries, but also native Israelis such as me, who happen to watch, sometimes even worship, sports such as rugby and cricket.

As ordinary citizens, taxpayers and sports lovers, we cherished the opportunity opened for us to zap to a particular channel which catered to our particular needs.

One day the channel was abruptly shut down. The reasons may not be important, but what is important is the fact that we are deprived of our basic right to enjoy cable television like so many of our fellow citizens. They can watch two Indian channels, three Turkish, French, Spanish, Italian and German and only one sports channel, Channel 5, which shows almost every sport under the sun, except our beloved ones.

From our perspective, this is discrimination, a violation of our citizen rights, a wrong which must be righted.

By the way, Limor, "we" means many thousands of people who lodged their complaints through letters, telephone calls and many petitions. Our right to have a sports channel which broadcasts our favored sports is indisputable and yet we are not

able to have a proper meeting with you, to impress upon you our grievances and requests. Most prominent among them is to restore the sports channel which will give us what we like and what we are entitled to have by right.

Instead, we are told that we are very few, hence we do not deserve our basic rights. This is untrue. We are many and we are also voters. We are told that maybe Channel 5 will give us an occasional glimpse of rugby and cricket. Insufficient and unfair, and fairness and accountability are the names of the game here.

Also, people who do not use violence, do not threaten, yell and scream deserve ministerial attention. Accountability, because you, Limor, have made a name for yourself as an able, attentive and free-minded member of the Cabinet.

Now you are faced with an opportunity and a challenge. An opportunity to prove yet again that you deserve all the credit and praise bestowed upon you for your performance. A challenge to go the extra mile, make a special effort and find a solution to a problem that can be easily resolved with a combination of good will, attention and effort.

Limor, we are waiting and watching!

MY CALL

Chief Rabbi Israel Meir Lau explains in 400 pages his understanding of Judaism from "getting up in the morning" to the mezuzah, the synagogue, keeping kosher, shabbat, the festivals, brit milah, marriage and more.

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The compelling search for answers has resulted in this volume. Practical Judaism is a modest answer to this penetrating question.

Hardcover, 403 pp.

JP special price: NIS 98

## England bowlers edge Israel 2-1 to clinch Test series

By NORMAN SPIRO

LONDON — Israel's bowlers stumbled at the very last hurdle as they attempted to snatch what would have been a sensational test series win against England who in their previous encounters had beaten both South Africa and Australia in the same format.

The third of the three Tests started off at Leamington-Spa near Stratford with the series all square when England reversed their first Test defeat of 9-2, by the similar margin in Selby, Yorkshire.

For Israel, the second Test was a day of misfortunes. Played in heavy rain, and on an irregular surface, Israel suffered a further setback when Assaf Iron had to leave the green with a back injury. He was substituted by team manager Kalley Sacks. Jeff Rabkin also continued with a similar back pain.

Israel's only win in the morning session was for Chaim Sheffer and Roy Jennings in pairs.

Outdoor play was then abandoned

for the six singles games had to be played in the adjacent indoor green.

This further disadvantaged the Israelis, however, Jennings recorded the visitors' only win against top international Brent Morley, 21-13. Rabkin lost 21-20 to John Bell and Bransky lost 21-20 to Bantock.

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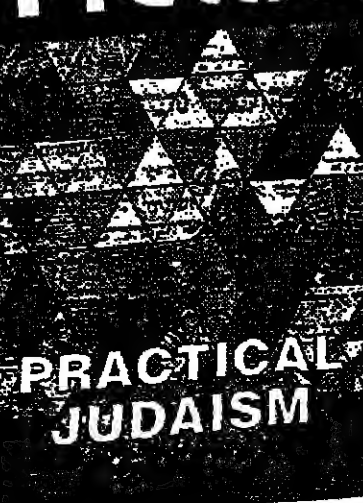
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## Major League Statistics (Through Friday's games)

### AMERICAN LEAGUE

#### TEAM PITCHING

	ERA	W	L	BB	SO	SH	Sv
New York	3.64	858	376	382	683	10	38
Minnesota	4.17	1010	444	282	589	5	38
Cleveland	4.19	1012	456	380	674	4	28
Boston	4.20	909	443	326	657	8	36
Tampa Bay	4.35	940	457	430	650	5	20
Anaheim	4.48	997	480	428	723	2	35
Toronto	4.56	1016	503	406	753	7	28
Oakland	4.82	1018	512	345	599	1	26
Seattle	4.82	1013	513	350	704	6	17
San Diego	4.87	1020	522	351	709	7	26
Detroit	4.94	1011	523	379	599	2	39
Kansas City	5.09	1071	545	385	683	5	19
Texas	5.14	1085	548	343	654	6	31
Chicago	5.45	1053	574	411	579	2	22

#### INDIVIDUAL PITCHING

##### Based on 10 decisions

	IP	BB	SO	W	L	ERA
P. Martinez	156	121	42	165	14	2.59
Rodriguez	159	132	48	87	11	4.28
Colton	157	137	55	122	11	4.29
C. F. F. Ana	152	140	73	154	8	2.96
Arriaga	147	134	43	111	11	3.11
Rodriguez	147	147	29	96	10	3.12
Clemens	148	116	65	148	13	3.22
Irabu	120	98	52	84	10	3.22
Cone	135	118	33	134	15	3.33
Hoyer	152	154	27	102	8	7.58
Peirce	157	155	69	112	13	3.64
Musina	125	111	22	106	9	3.58
Moehler	145	144	31	87	11	3.59
D. Wells	132	120	33	104	12	3.68
(Thompson)	163	154	56	104	9	3.70
Favre	145	146	46	111	10	3.84
Burke	146	143	53	98	10	3.87
Rodriguez	114	119	33	87	6	3.87
Ericsson	172	172	45	130	11	3.94
Taylor	53	53	19	43	8	4.02
Saunders	123	123	31	127	9	4.12
Olivera	123	123	75	8	8	4.22
Wallerfield	152	143	52	105	12	4.25
Schwarzen	116	119	47	111	5	4.27
W. Williams	146	149	109	9	6	4.30
Johnson	140	146	60	213	9	4.33
Hayes	134	144	58	89	7	4.34
Tweedy	107	116	13	40	5	4.35
Becker	155	165	47	94	10	4.35
Guerra	145	133	65	113	6	4.41
Sale	141	157	59	121	12	4.51
Florie	73	79	38	47	5	4.52
J. Wright	152	145	62	91	6	4.55
Hudson	122	126	43	89	7	4.61
Hollins	146	145	55	101	13	4.68
Samuels	145	171	29	81	10	4.77
W. Williams	76	77	34	57	8	4.81
Happ	135	147	71	91	9	4.92
Carper	140	160	83	6	5	4.92
Houston	140	160	51	74	9	5.00
Cassidy	143	165	47	73	6	5.02
Hawkins	126	141	43	70	7	5.04
K. Hill	78	94	37	45	8	5.15
P. Rodriguez	88	101	48	43	5	5.40
Nagy	139	175	46	72	9	5.44
Avary	68	72	36	28	7	5.50
Switz	108	134	33	54	9	5.57
D. Williams	92	104	48	35	2	5.74
R. Hill	131	166	44	74	6	5.74
Navarro	135	170	54	53	8	5.79
O. Quinn	125	141	41	81	6	5.87
Burke	146	170	33	104	6	5.89
St. John	81	77	43	45	4	5.89
P. Hill	83	96	29	55	4	5.96
B. Hill	405	126	36	50	9	6.00
Baldwin	98	121	42	65	6	6.11
Cloutier	104	125	54	74	7	6.14
Watson	67	93	26	42	4	6.25
B. Hill	83	98	58	53	7	6.45
D. Hill	103	140	43	58	6	6.53
Drabek	98	124	25	49	6	7.07
F. Hill	76	105	33	51	3	7.10

#### TEAM BATTING

##### Based on 250 plate appearances

	AB	R	H	HR	RBI	Avg
T. Williams	372	616	1086	121	583	284
B. Hill	373	586	1062	139	552	284
N. Williams	375	604	1005	121	566	280
B. Hill	375	561	1039	145	538	276
Seane	379	582	1041	167	561	275
Cleveland	378	585	1043	134	558	275
Academy	3748	525	1019	112	487	271
Minnesota	3693	492	987	79	461	267
Detroit	3718	472	992	107	454	266
Chicago	3671	549	971	124	503	264
Kansas City	3719	488	980	93	443	263
Tampa Bay	3591	395	938	75	364	261
Oakland	3674	548	939	97	519	261
Toronto	3761	518	970	141	495	257

#### INDIVIDUAL BATTING

##### Based on 250 plate appearances

	AB	R	H	HR	RBI	Avg
T. Williams	336	61	116	8	41	345
B. Williams	336	55	95	13	53	345
H. Williams	336	55	95	13	53	345
S. Hill	336	67	130	16	70	335
P. Hill	336	62	131	26	68	334
E. Hill	284	58	91	21	58	327
St. John	335	108	117	21	326	326
G. Hill	335	73	122	22	325	325
H. Hill	403	141	151	11	52	322
H. Hill	403	141	151	11	52	322
D. Hill	396	80	126	13	51	318
H. Hill	421	70	134	19	51	318
O. Hill	409	65	129	14	78	315
C. Hill	334	46	103	4	35	308
B. Hill	410	74	126	33	95	307
P. Hill	371	63	114	20	71	307
W. Hill	376	66	115	25	68	306
T. Hill	379	82	115	29	82	303
O. Hill	416	67	126	14	67	302
G. Hill	414	75	125	14	63	302
E. Hill	453	71	137	19	77	302
R. Hill	418	69	126	33	88	301
C. Hill	340	54	102	19	68	300
G. Hill	391	69	117	8	68	299
E. Hill	410	75	122	15	58	299
D. Hill	424	92	108	41	93	297
R. Hill	370	62	110	9	35	297
E. Hill	423	64	120	29	72	296
J. Hill	416	73	123	31	116	296
T. Hill	397	60	117	23	70	295
G. Hill	374	59	110	16	66	294
A. Hill	466	79	137	32	87	294
B. Hill	242	31	72	2	31	293
S. Hill	393	54	115	10	67	293
B. Hill	393	54	115	10	67	293
V. Hill	400	60	116	0	38	290
G. Hill	259	37	72	12	33	290
C. Hill	330	34	95	5	34	288
M. Hill	420	52	121	7	41	288
N. Hill	382	68	110	24	88	288
J. Hill	392	68	113	25	88	288
T. Hill	310	44	89	6	43	287
D. Hill	391	63	112	6	49	286
T. Hill	355	69	101	13	285	

### NATIONAL LEAGUE

#### TEAM PITCHING

	ERA	W	L	BB	SO	SH	Sv
Atlanta	3.34	895	365	311	822	13	26
New York	3.43	879	363	336	728	13	25
Pittsburgh	3.54	948	388	326	751	9	30
Houston	3.72	993	406	323	697	6	32
Los Angeles	3.77	894	410	387	800	6	30
San Diego	3.77	899	409	345	790	5	41
San Francisco	3.95	946	437	384	735	5	31
Chicago	4.21	1009	467	392	816	6	36
H. Hill	4.25	1013	461	361	708	0	30
Montreal	4.43	1023	477	346	645	2	25
Cincinnati	4.55	984	497	397	774	3	28
Philadelphia	4.62	948	491	383	813	7	25
St. Louis	4.63	1022	500	370	640	4	30
Arizona	4.80	1004	509	340	602	3	23
Florida	4.93	1086	540	464	689	1	16
Colorado	5.28	1065	538	400	618	3	25

#### INDIVIDUAL PITCHING

##### Based on 10 decisions

	IP	BB	SO	W	L	ERA
G. Hill	184	139	24	145	14	1.61
C. Hill	146	122	48	114	10	2.15
A. Hill	126	95	45	114	10	2.16
W. Hill	61	56	23	54	5	2.48
A. Hill	168	149	37	113	14	2.62
G. Hill	151	143	47	110	14	2.68
X. Hill	172	166	35	113	3	2.71
R. Hill	147	129	23	107	11	2.75
R. Hill	181	176	41	91	7	2.83
R. Hill	92	85	34	5	5	2.84
W. Hill	128	84	71	119	11	3.01
B. Hill	77	64	30	54	4	3.04
S. Hill	94	94	37	98	9	3.16
W. Hill	101	98	16	87	8	3.20
H. Hill	141	122	47	109	7	3.25
C. Hill	149	142	44	102	9	3.26
S. Hill	184	161	39	214	10	3.27
M. Hill	51	40	20	49	4	3.35
B. Hill	118	128	30	60	10	3.41
H. Hill	122	99	37	86	9	3.45
H. Hill	122	109	37	86	9	3.45
G. Hill	161	146	51	147	9	3.51
G. Hill	69	63	16	69	9	3.52
M. Hill	163	151	42	111	9	3.53
B. Hill	55	45	23	33	4	3.58
K. Hill	57	57	37	57	6	3.63
R. Hill	127	119	43	127	7	3.64
R. Hill	143	144	32	116	8	3.64
D. Hill	146	135	40	131	6	3.68
P. Hill	85	82	33	59	5	3.69
H. Hill	138	152	53	80	9	3.72
B. Hill	137	127	35	82	7	3.74
C. Hill	167	177	33	82	7	3.75
L. Hill	152	156	24	108	9	3.77
Y. Hill	123	115	41	84	4	3.78
H. Hill	136	131	58	78	8	3.90
P. Hill	138	131	61	114	10	3.90</







